Easy Street? Reasons Given for 'Involvement in' and 'Desisting from' Property Crime by Male Offenders.

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Abstract

Both the rationale for 'involvement in' and 'desisting from' crimes where property is stolen (e.g. burglary, robbery, fraud) was examined using exploratory questionnaires that were factor analysed. The reasons for involvement factors are: 1) Criminal choice 2) Compulsion 3) Situational response; and, 4) Planning. Criminal choice looked at criminal propensity from a rational choice perspective. Compulsion explored the relationship of affective rewards in re-inforcing criminal behaviour. Situational response found a relationship between interpersonal stress and social comparative justifications. The relationship of these involvement factors with the affectometer (Kammann and Flett 1983), showed the situational response with the highest measure of wellbeing. Self-esteem appeared to be maintained by either neutralising the impact of criminal involvement or maintained by the perception of criminal abilities. It is suggested that the three involvement factors (criminal choice, compulsion and situational response) produce different vulnerabilities for persistent offending. All three correlated significantly with the high recidivism group. Important factors related to potential desistence are: 1) Bonding and Coping; 2) Social Disapproval; 3) Deterrence, and, 4) Crime Hassles. 'Bonding and coping' and 'social disapproval' capture the positive and negative aspects of social control, deterrence mainly considers formal sanctions while crime hassles considers weighing up the worth of criminal involvement. 'Bonding and coping' and 'social disapproval' correlated with measures of social support and optimism, deterrence with confluence, and crime hassles with optimism and thought clarity. Consideration was given to relative deterrence (limiting the amount of involvement in crime) as well as the applicability of these factors to high and low rate offenders. The relationship between the reasons for involvement and desistence was examined. Ethnic differences between Maori and Pakeha were also explored. The results suggest that cultural differences produce a unique vulnerability to crime. Appropriate interventions are discussed.

Life

How shall I compare
the discovery of life?

History has made instinctive memories
Past reasons of emotions
Now destroyed by self-analysis
Still finding the unknown uneasy
Prisoned inside myself
By myself

My mind my body
Mechanical image that I mistook
For my own image

Like a sheep
I jostle
Under the pillar of life
Ignorant of the course set

I think as I do now
What I think of life
Who has made the journey
From child to adult
Has laid myself
In the hands of life
And yet tried to take

I turn my youth over
Like a dead bird in my hand
And start anew

Life can be an illusion
That can cause a lot of confusion

With the warm sun
I'll make time fly
Until the wind and rain come no more
Until the time I die

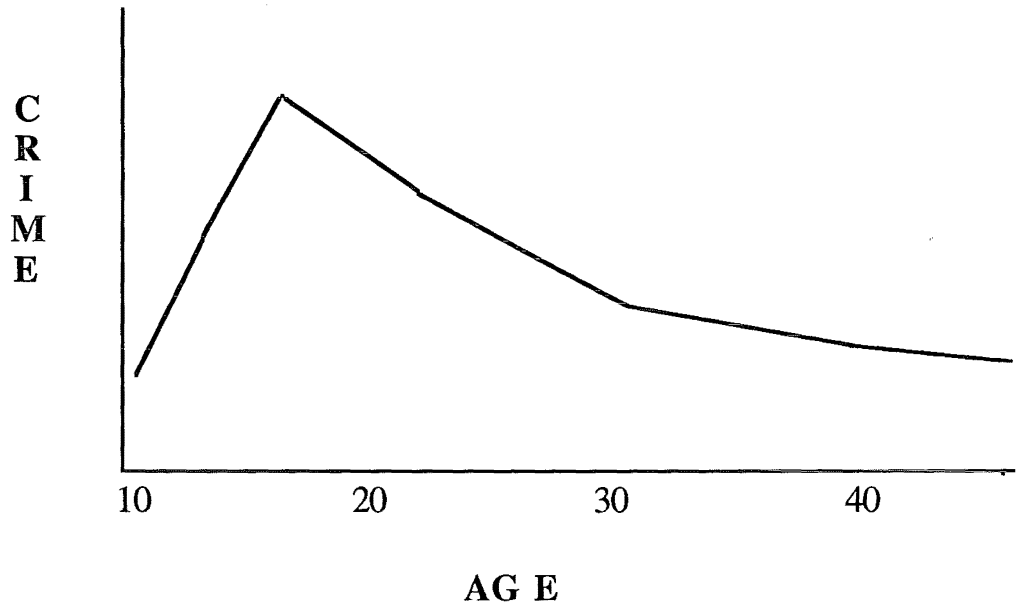
Are we safe until the day
Our weapons
show obvious decay?

23 year old offender
Paparua Prison

Introduction.

One of the most consistent patterns found in criminology is between crime and age (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Most crime-age curves show a peak in the mid-to-late teens with the subsequent decline resulting in little involvement in the justice system after the age of forty (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, Blumstein et al 1988).

FIGURE 1.1: Representation Of A Typical Age-Crime Curve



Even for persistent offenders, it appears that culmination of criminal involvement in young adulthood is the rule rather than the exception. Barnett, Blumstein & Farrington (1987), using conviction records from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, suggest that the average career length of recidivists (those with two or more offences) ranges from seven years for the 'occasionals' to

nine years for the 'frequents'[1]. From this same cohort Farrington (1992a) found that the average age for the last conviction was 23.3 years when statistics were collected up to age 32[2]. It seems that although inter-generational patterns may occur, criminal behaviour is mostly an age-specific phenomenon occurring in adolescence to young adulthood. Werner & Smith (1992) show the possibility of a variety of future life-course trajectories in adulthood. Thus, the question of desistence seems as relevant to criminology as the question of involvement. Both are central issues for forensic psychologists seeking to minimise victimising behaviour, recidivism and help create positive life options.

The focus of the study is on reasons for involvement in, and desistance from, property theft (e.g. burglary, car theft, robbery) by males. Offenders were asked why they had got involved and why they would stop. Potential desistence is the offenders perspective on what would make them stop. However, as Liebrich (1993) notes in her research on offenders who have successfully changed, the paths between 'crooked' and 'straight' are often curved. Pristine is an unlikely description of being 'straight', a more apt description being behaviour that falls within the bounds of what could be called normal rule breaking. Eskridge (1992) notes that university students in New Zealand and America, while many consider themselves to be law abiding, a majority have driven while

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[1] The average career length has been calculated from a simple probabilistic model considering two probabalistic processes: one reflecting the annual rate of offending for each group and the other the likelihood of ceasing to offend after each conviction.

[2] Farrington notes that the age of desistence can only be ascertained with certainty when offenders die.

drunk (53%[3]), smoked marijuana (61%), and stolen something worth less than ten dollars (58%) in the last year. For those offenders who have been heavily involved in criminal activity the process of 'going straight' may involve less frequent and more prudent offending along the way.

The plan for this study was to first distinguish differences in rationality using factor analysis. Then using various demographic groups (e.g. age, recidivism, lambda, ethnicity and combinations of these groups), differences in rationality may correspond to differences in behaviour, illuminate developmental trends and ethnic differences. In consideration of the breath of topics considered, this thesis is seen as the first part of a process and shall: 1) look at the involvement and desistence constructs formed through factor analysis; 2) consider their relationship to recidivism, lambda and the affectometer (Kammann & Flett, 1983); 3) look at ethnic differences; and, 4) consider the inter-relationship between the involvement and desistence questionnaires.

The influences on this study have been the criminal career framework, a range of criminological theories (rational choice, strain theories, labelling, self theories, social control, deterrence), offender accounts, developmental theories and consideration of cultural differences. It is proposed to take a 'static' view of development before considering how this may evolve and change with age. That is, consideration is given to whether persistent offenders could be distinguished from the majority of offenders who experiment with crime briefly.

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[3] The statistics shown are those collected in Christchurch, New Zealand, the city in which data for this present study has been collected.

The starting point is adolescent development, the time when most offending occurs and there is the formation of cognitive skills to support an offending rationale. The order in which this occurs may vary depending on the particular cognitions involved and whether they have been constructed to justify behaviour or have occurred as part of the socialisation process with the availability of vicarious learning stimuli.

The following introduction will look at: 1)criminological theories and how they may be clarified and prioritised by using factor analysis; 2)offender accounts, their value to criminology and use in formulating the questionnaires; 3)adolescent development; 4)ethnic differences; and, 5)specific topics investigated.

1.1 THE CRIMINOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The integrative approach to explaining criminal behaviour (Wilson and Herrnstein 1985, Buikhuisan1988 1989, Walters 1990) has combined a range of criminological theories to explain criminal involvement. An underlying assumption is that criminal behaviour and criminal propensity can not be explained adequately by one theoretical perspective alone. Walters (1990) has produced a short overview of a variety of sociological and psychological theories (see table 1.1). These theories have differences in their view of human nature and offer different policy objectives. Hirschi (1979: from Polakowski 1992) suggests that to integrate different theoretical perspectives may limit their separate development and may suggest a prioritising of the theories used.

Table1.1: Eight Models of criminal conduct as defined by the four fundamental principles of a theory (Walters 1990)

Theory	*Nature of Man*	*Normal Development*	*Cause of Deviance*	*Implementing Change*
Differential Association	Neutral	Modelling and social learning	Association with delinquents and criminals	Associating with noncriminals
Strain Theory	Positive	Pursuit of socially sanctioned goals	Disjuncture between goals and available means	Increased opportunity for everyone
Social Control	Negative	Internalised sense of social control	Weak/broken bond to conventional social order.	Attachment to conventional social order
Labelling	Positive	Attributions & symbolic interactionalism	Negative labelling experience	Changes in the criminal justice systems approach to deviance
Self Theories	Positive	Defining one's self relative to society	Implementation of a self-image consistent with crime	Challenging old beliefs about self and developing a new self identity
Psycho-analytic Theory	Negative	Gratification of instinctual drives within the limits established by society	Inadequate resolution of early conflicts resulting in either guilt of weak superego development	Developing greater insight into the conscious determinants of behaviour
Pathological Stimulation Seeking	Neutral	Achieving an optimal level of sensory stimulation	Drive for increased levels of stimulation coupled with negative family experiences	Finding socially appropriate outlets for stimulation seeking tendencies
Rational Choice Theory	Neutral	Maximising gains and minimising costs	The cost-benefit ratio for crime exceeds the cost-benefit ratio for non-crime	Increase the cost of crime and/or increase the benefit of noncrime

However the differences in the view of human nature need not stand in the way of integrating theories. Recently Flannagan (1991) has looked at morality from a psychological perspective presenting a realistic view of the interrelationship between virtue and actions. Using examples of high morality, such as Gandi, he illustrates creativity in dealing with some situations while in other areas in life a person may be far from exemplary. He poses the question "What exactly does commitment to justice and equality for all do when one is trying to attend sensitively to a child who has suffered some interpersonal disappointment, or when one is trying to be responsive to the multifarious needs of one's friends and family?" (p. 7). It seems that these differences can occur within people and so a more realistic view may be to integrate the multifarious forces that effect criminal behaviour. Factor analysis appears as an appropriate medium for both developing individual theories and seeing how they may be integrated[4].

Even for those theorists who advocate separate development, there seems to be a desire to prioritise theory. This is illustrated by looking at the debate over the amount of variance in the age-crime relationship. Taking an invariant approach, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) review studies showing that age has a similar effect on crime over time, place, demographic groups and by type of crime. They produce some interesting data from as far back as 1842 and

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[4] The proposal to view these factors in a developmental context also offers an opportunity for considering how rationale may change in line with changing roles and challengers. Changes in the rationality for criminal involvement may span different theoretical perspectives and suggest different developmental paths.

suggest that "the shape or the form of the curve has remained unchanged for about 150 years" (p.124).

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) suggest that the crime-age relationship seems to defy explanation. "None of the correlates of age, such as employment, peers, or family circumstances, explains crime as well as age itself" (p.145). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1987) assert that age has a "direct effect" on crime which Blumstein et al (1988) suggest may mean developmental, maturational, biological, or other non-social mechanisms are responsible for this relationship. In clarifying their position Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) reiterate social control theory. The perspective taken is that there is a "general theory" to explain criminality - loss of control. From their perspective crime is a relatively mundane and unfruitful venture so an explanation for why offenders recidivate is related to varying amounts of self-control. They see it as pointless to talk about different stages in a criminal career or to classify different offenders as control theory applies to all. For example, they see it as pointless to discuss desistance as criminal behaviour simply diminishes continuously with time. However, whether criminal propensity also diminishes is questioned. There is always the possibility for further involvement in crime. Thus, Gottfredson and Hirschi would see reasons for involvement remaining (human nature) while increasing social bonding would alter the reasons for desistence.

Those who have been involved with the US National Academy of Sciences Panel on Criminal Career Research have taken a different approach and considered constancy and variance in the age-crime

relationship. The use of a different paradigm, one that seeks to explore the variance in patterns, has shaped different types of research questions and interpretation of research evidence (Greenberg, 1991). Blumstein et al (1988) do not disagree that the basic shape of the age-crime curve remains the same. However "key measures of magnitude, central tendency, dispersion, and skewness of the age curve vary considerably with time, place, sex and crime type (Farrington 1986)" (p.8). Changes that may occur, such as shifts in the peak age or in the amptitude of crime growth or decline, may be explained by changes in social conditions. These include sources of social influence, methods for behavioural reinforcement, or variations in availability of legitimate economic resources (Blumstein et al, 1988).

Although offender accounts may not be useful for gauging some theoretical perspectives, it may still be useful for clarifying and prioritising those that are cognitively available. It may give information that is relevant for individual differences, suggest therapy strategies and offer statistical groupings that can be used in planning intervention programs. The work of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggests that both reasons for involvement and desistence need to be considered in explaining criminal behaviour.

1.2 *OFFENDER ACCOUNTS*

In consideration of the breath of criminological theories, offender accounts were seen as a starting point for prioritising items for inclusion. Wright and Bennett (1990) have expressed the view that the offender's perspective is probably the most neglected

area of criminological inquiry. Offender accounts are a relatively untapped vein through which criminological theory and justice policy-making is likely to be enriched.

Most offender accounts have been gained from interviews which have allowed offenders to explain their offending in their own terms. Goldstein (1990) presents the view that delinquents may be experts on their own behaviour. This study aims to build on the base formed from these accounts, the use of a structured interview format and factor analysis allowing for a more integrated perspective.

Offender accounts have been infrequently used because of the question of validity and reliability. Offender accounts may be constructed to reduce cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957). That is, cognitions formed may be post hoc and become consistent with behaviour and the chosen course of action may also be upgraded over other options. Offenders may also be influenced by social desirability. These are probable distortions that can occur in any study, yet offender accounts are considered more dubious because of the possibility that offenders may deliberately distort their answers.

Agnew (1990a) suggests that these distortions may be interesting in themselves. Like, for example, the tendency by offenders to exaggerate their financial gains (Wilson and Abrahamse 1992). If a trend is apparent, the distortion calls for an explanation. The information gained from offender accounts is their perception of

reality and events. There is no apriori reason to believe that they may distort their interpretations in an ad hoc manner.

The perspective offered is likely to be the public motives for offending. "Such motives may play a role in the generation of delinquency by conveying to others-and perhaps the delinquent him or herself-that delinquency is justified" (Agnew 1990a:270). In accordance with this, attributional theory suggests that people tend to attribute negative events and failure on someone else or on other factors (Jones and Nisbett 1972, from Sagatun 1991). This may include criminal events and there has been some consideration of the 'techniques of neutralisation' (Sykes and Matza 1957 and Matza 1964 from Agnew and Peters 1986) by which delinquents justify their actions. Agnew and Peters (1986) suggest that this may be applicable to some delinquency. For delinquency to occur, persons must accept the technique of neutralisation and believe that they are in a situation where the technique is applicable.

However, there may be a subtle difference between justification and external locus of control where these external events are blamed for involvement. Sagatun (1991) found that delinquents, their families and probation officers consistently said that the minor was most responsible for their behaviour. This result was attributed to the pre-court situation and the possible realisation by the minors that exit from the justice system is likely to be faster if responsibility is taken for their actions. A rational choice perspective may suggest an internal locus of control: that is, offenders making a choice to offend.

The second challenge to the validity of offender accounts is that they may be unaware of the forces that shape their behaviour. The individual factors may be physiological (Buchanan, Eccles & Becker 1992, Lewis 1992), developmental (Farrington 1992) and sociological. This could see the formation of relatively stable characteristics within the individual and a relatively stable socio-economic environment.

There is no doubt that an offenders perspective has these limitations and yet gaining an offenders perspective is the only way to gain insight into the individual's internal states and those aspects of the external environment that are being attended too (Agnew 1990a) "Further, they may play a role in the rehabilitation of delinquents in that it may be necessary for helpers to penetrate the motives before rehabilitation can be successful" (Agnew 1990a:270)

1.3 *Developmental Considerations.*

Since the publication of the widely cited Philadelphia cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin 1972), there has been an awareness that contact with the law for non-traffic violations is not the domain of a small proportion of the male population but encompasses a substantial proportion of it. Figures obtained from the New Zealand cohort show that one in four males have had contact with the law by the age of twenty four (Lovell and Norris 1990).

Although this rate may seem high, it is lower than figures obtained in other countries. Figures from western Europe find that about one in three males are convicted by their early thirties (see Stattin and Magnusson 1991, Farrington 1992). Higher rates have been reported in the United States with about one in two males having an arrest record for a non-traffic violation by the age of thirty (Wolfgang et al 1972, 1987, Shannon 1988). New Zealand is not likely to have maintained low prevalence rates, the crime rate increased by 20% in the 1980's (Noriss & MacPherson 1990).

The official statistics may only capture a portion of those involved in crime. Farrington (1989 from Farrington 1992a) found that 22% of males, in the Cambridge cohort, self-reported burglary and 14% were convicted of it. It is possible that those caught are more likely to have committed more serious offences or to have offended more frequently.

Consistent with the cohort studies from overseas, Lovell and Norris (1990) found a large number involved in offending but a small number who were responsible for a substantial proportion of the crime. Of those convicted almost half (47.2%) appeared only once and a further 17.3% appeared twice. Thus offending falls off sharply with only 4% of the sample offending more than five times. However, the proportion of offending that the minority of offenders are responsible for is substantial. Lovell and Norris found that "cohort members appearing in court on seven or more occasions comprised only 3% of the cohort, but were responsible for 43% of all the appearances made by cohort members" (p.32).

The above pattern of crime, with large numbers having minimal involvement and a small number being responsible for a large proportion of crime, suggests two groups for whom theory can be built. The first group are those who have minimal involvement in delinquency, usually at adolescents, whose behaviour may be described as 'normative'. The second group, persistent offenders are subject to the same social forces that accentuate 'normative' offending in modern society. It is also possible to consider developmental paths and environmental influences that may lead to persistent offending.

Recently, adolescent developmental theorising has not received the same amount of attention as earlier development. Child development has been a fruitful source of information about developmental continuity. For example, criminal propensity can be judged more accurately by looking at a combination of individual characteristics (intelligence) and childhood environmental factors (family background, relationship with father) than by the amount of offending that has occurred (Nagin and Farrington 1992). Robins (e.g. 1986) research has also found that while no more than half of children with conduct disorders become antisocial adults, virtually all antisocial adults had previously exhibited at least one symptom of conduct disorder from the DSM-IIIR. Also, earlier intervention is considered effective because behavioural patterns and personality are more malleable at younger ages (e.g. Le Blanc et al 1991).

Yet there are still adolescents and adults offending and a need for interventions at all developmental stages. Farrington (1992) gives some indication of how antisocial personality may manifest over the life course (conduct or behavioural disorder, criminal behaviour, poor parenting and relationship skills). Within this developmental framework, adolescence is the time of greatest vulnerability to criminal behaviour. Adolescent challenges (e.g. identity formation) and cognitive development provide a framework in which a rationality compatible with criminal behaviour may be formed.

Consideration of whether persistent offenders can be picked out of the larger group of offenders who have minimal contact with the law has been looked at from the perspective of behavioural patterns and environmental influences. Although there may be some behavioural indicators such as the age pattern of those who start offending early being those who persist in offending the longest (reviewed by Le Blanc, McDuff, Charlebois, Gagnon, Larrivee and Tremblay 1991), there is still a high attrition rate. Farrington (1987) has given some descriptive accounts of the type of background that a persistent offender is likely to come from. Gaining a perspective of offending rationale offers another perspective, maybe one that is more directly linked to the degree of commitment to a criminal lifestyle. Andrews, Bonta and Hoge's (1990) meta-analysis suggests that the selection of offender's who are more "at risk" may improve the efficacy of intervention programs. If high risk offenders are targeted for intervention then it is likely to reduce re-offending. However, if a high level of intervention is given to low risk offenders, then this is likely to

have no such effect and possibly exposing them to criminologic forces.

It should be noted that adolescence was not a central consideration in designing this study. Later analysis will show how rationality may evolve and change with age (up to thirty). The present analysis may only show what rationalities adolescents are in danger of developing. It takes a static view of the types of criminal rationality that may begin at adolescence with the development of cognitive abilities.

Normative development

Over the last 20 years, there has been a shift away from a 'storm and stress' approach to adolescence. Research shows that the number of adolescents experiencing severe emotional disturbance is similar to that of the adult population (about 10 to 20%: Offer et al 1981; Peterson 1987: from Howser and Bowlds 1990). Consideration of hormonal, biological changes affecting mood and behaviour have become less prominent with a shift towards contextual (e.g. family peers and school) and psychological (e.g. self-esteem, gender role orientation) factors (Buchanan, Eccles and Becker 1992). Adolescent developmental research now focuses on the processes of change and adjustment that take place in response to developmental transitions (Jackson and Bosma 1992).

What is proposed as shaping delinquency are the same forces that shape prosocial development. Namely, as adolescence become more mature they have more resources available to them (Agnew

1990). Resources available change in conjunction with physical development, psychological development, association with others (e.g. peers or gang association), and availability of physical resources (e.g. money, a car). Physical development relates to changes in size, shape, strength and perhaps even fighting prowess. Psychological development increases verbal skills, powers of persuasion and manipulation, and ability to formulate rationalisations. These changes may interact with more stable qualities such as charisma, intelligence and creativity.

Increasing resources for the adolescent are accompanied by increasing autonomy from parents[5]. Agnew (1990) distinguishes three types of autonomy: emotional, value and functional. Emotional autonomy is defined as "freedom from an excessive need for approval, closeness, togetherness, and emotional support" (Hoffman 1984:171 from Agnew 1990). Value autonomy reflects an ability to think for oneself, to transcend values presented by parents or society. Boyes & Chandler (1992) argue that "the acquisition of formal operational competence set in motion a series of developments that seriously undermine the typical adolescents sense of epistemic certainty" (p. 277). Values and beliefs previously held are likely to be carefully scrutinised. Functional autonomy is defined as the "ability to manage and direct ones practical and personal affairs without the help" of others (Hoffman 1984, p.171 from Agnew 1990). Resources contributing to

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[5]A contributing factor to differences in male/ female delinquency is likely to be the varying degrees of autonomy experienced. Also Rosenbaum (1987: from Walters 1990) found that social control was more predictive of female, than male, delinquency. There has been some debate about differences in females and male development related to the sequencing of the intimacy and identity developmental tasks (see Harter,1990)

functional autonomy include skills, intelligence, creativity, money and forms of transportation.

Adolescence, as an intervening stage between childhood and adulthood, is characterised by having more resources and autonomy but not the same amount of responsibilities as adulthood. Erikson (1968) describes this as a *psychological moratorium*, a period of time without excessive responsibilities or obligations allowing for the pursuit of self discovery without serious consequences. Elliott and Feldman (1990) review literature showing the distinctiveness of this life stage for primates generally. However, the changing length of adolescence can be seen in the historical context of post industrial society where a period of growth for obtaining skills is necessary to met work demands (Kohen-Raz 1983). Elliott and Feldman (1990) see this as a continuing trend: "Even in the twentieth century adolescents were taking on adult roles and responsibilities at a much earlier age than most do now" (p.2).

Adolescents may also have the freedom of self determination that has been unparalleled historically.

> "For instance, they exert varying levels of control over how vigorously they apply themselves academically; the kinds of friends of both sexes that they seek out; and the extent to which they adopt such risky behaviours as smoking, using alcohol or recreational drugs, and engaging in early or promiscuous sexual intercourse. Longer-range decisions that adolescents increasingly make for themselves include the length and type of formal education, career direction, and mate selection. What is of

> concern is that most early adolescents are making such choices while their thinking is focused on the here and now rather than the longer range eventualities" Elliott and Feldman (1990:4).

Whether the resources that increasingly become available to adolescents are used for delinquency may depend on environmental influences, degrees of reinforcement for delinquent and prosocial behaviour, and the coping style of the adolescent (Agnew 1990a). These varying influences create differences in criminal propensity.

Agnew discusses the relationship between resources and propensity using sex and class to illustrate. For females, the lower rate of delinquency may partly be due to differences in resources such as coercive power, emotional autonomy and functional autonomy. In looking at class, even if those who are socially and economically disadvantaged are more at risk, there is still something classless about antisocial attitudes and behaviour. In explaining these patterns, it is possible that lower class adolescents may have a stronger disposition towards offending but not the resources. In support of this theory Ross and Mirosky (1987 from Agnew 1990) found that low-status people were more likely to feel normless (which predisposes one toward crime) but less likely to feel powerful. As a result, many low-status people did not act on their predisposition.

As adolescence moves into adulthood, there is further growth in resources (e.g. more experience and knowledge, better employment opportunities) and a formation of social bonds that increase the "stake in conformity" and subsequently, a decline in crime.

Jessor et al. (1991) also note consistency in patterns of change with movement from adolescence to young adulthood. Although those who are involved in problem behaviour[6] in adolescence are also more likely to be involved in problem behaviour in young adulthood, there is also a trend for all (high, medium and low conformists) to move towards psychosocial conventionality. They note an increase in value on achievement, a decline in social criticism and alienation, an increase in attitudinal intolerance of deviance, and a decline in friends models for drug use[7]. The group with the most movement towards conformity were the low conformists moving closer to the attitudes of the high and medium conformists. They note that this is a reversal in the direction of developmental change. Changes within adolescence/youth moved toward greater problem behaviour proneness or unconventionality.

Simply put, a characterisation of delinquency as normative sees adolescents learning by making mistakes. The extent to which this occurs though may depend on the structure of society. Elliot and Feldman (1990) make the point that adolescence being 'at risk' of delinquency is also linked to this point in social history. In the past adolescence have been more at risk of disease than of delinquency. In considering the changing structure of society, what sociologists are likely to explore are those things which loosen social bonds and increase individuality. The list is likely to

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[6] Problem behaviour includes cigarette smoking, problem drinking, marijuana use, other illicit drug use, and general deviance.

[7] This applied to the college sample only. They used two cohorts, a college and high school sample. Mean age for the last follow up for the high school sample was 27.2 and 27.1 years for males and females respectively. For the college sample, the mean age for males was 30.2 years and, for females, 30.1 years at the last follow up.

include the abstractness of society and social responsibility (e.g. 'statistics are numbers whereas one person makes a story'), the pace of consumer change, television role models and violence, and changing family and friendship structures[8]. Whatever the underlying infrastructure is, the changing incidence of delinquency makes this an important target for social change.

In terms of this study, the frequencies of responses may give some indication of what are important global targets for change That is, items with high frequencies may indicate that these are thoughts that are held by both infrequent and frequent offenders. However, since the focus of this study is on persistent offenders, those who are involved minimally are seen as a control group. Being able to distinguish between minor involvement and persistent offending seems as important as distinguishing between offenders and non-offenders. The less persistent offenders may hold views that are less extreme, more spontaneous and more specific to the offending situation.

Persistent Offenders

The following section looks at the rationale associated with persistent property offending. First, there was the question of what type of rationality would endure over time that could justify persistent offending. Second, what type of rationality would fit with an "opportunity seeker" (i.e. someone who actively seeks out

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[8]Gergen (1991) presents an interesting perspective on how social structures are changing with information technology, communication technology and transportation.

criminal activities) rather than an "opportunity taker" (i.e. someone who takes an opportunity if it arises). The idea of choosing a criminal lifestyle seemed appropriate. There are two main concepts to be explored in gaining an understanding of what this may mean, the first being choice and the second being identity. In particular, a combination of the rational choice perspective (Cornish and Clarke 1985 1989) and Erikson's (1958) view that the major challenge of adolescence is identity formation is proposed for persistent offenders.

Combining a rational choice perspective with Erikson's view of the challenges of adolescence offers an opportunity to consider the formation of a 'criminal identity' for persistent offenders. McDowall (1991) points out that euphemisms often used by burglars (e.g. earning, job, market, dealer) imply parallels between burglary and legitimate work. The rational choice view of the adoption of a criminal identity is seen as one where legitimate choices are considered unavailable or difficult to obtain and crime is seen as a viable alternative.

The concept of self, of who we are, is multifaceted. It covers all aspects of our functioning (e.g. academic, social, physical and work), our appearance, gender, ethnicity, involves our past and future, and is influenced by introspection and the opinions of others. An adolescent is expected to be able to define, evaluate and integrate self-attributes as well as consider the roles they will adopt within society, including occupation, religious and political identities (Harter 1990).

Consideration of the degree of importance for individuals in forming an occupational identity may depend on socioeconomic status, gender and ethnicity. The flexibility of self identity, the range of areas that it covers, is such that individuals may gravitate towards areas where there is positive re-inforcement and which follow social expectations (stereotypical examples: sports for Maori, social skills for women, career concerns for white males). This points to the ethnocentric and male orientation that exists in considering the formation of a criminal identity where money may be considered more important than other considerations.

This does not deny the restrictions that may be found in forming an occupational identity by minority groups, women and the poor. For example, the pressing economic needs of the working class may preclude an extensive moratorium (time of low responsibilities) in which to explore careers (Kohen-Raz 1983). The low socio-economic status of many African-Americans is likely to have been a contributing factor to the findings of Hauser and Kasendorf (1983 from Harter 1990). They found that African-American youth are more likely to occupy *identity foreclose* status. Identity foreclosure describes a state where an identity is adopted without ever exploring options or experiencing an identity crisis (Marcia 1966 from Harter 1990).

Yet, the concept of having choice in forming a criminal identity has been emphasised. From an existentialist viewpoint, the concept of choice, having freedom of action is central to the self. Every time someone makes a choice they become something a little different from what they were before. As Satre (from Black 1991: p.264)

comments "Choice is possible, but what is not possible is not to choose. I can always choose, but I ought to know that if I do not choose, I am still choosing." Not perceiving that there was a choice may be limiting, viewed as realistic, at worst pathological, or serve to protect the individual from 'owning' their own behaviour. For example, there may be denial of a desire for criminal involvement but choices made earlier may have created a situation where criminal involvement is highly probable (e.g.. choosing to go out with friends who involve themselves in crime, getting drunk). According to Satre (1943 1956 from Black 1991), to pretend that choice and responsibility do not exist is the option of self-deception or bad faith.

Giving individuals greater control of their lives is an objective of existentialism and yet rational choice theory (Cornish and Clarke 1985 1989) has been criticised because it places the onus of responsibility on the individual and does not necessarily acknowledge the social forces that may shape this behaviour. Resolving this issue can be done by accepting the concept of reciprocal determinism (Bandura 1978) . Bandura suggests that: "A self system within the framework of learning theory comprises cognitive structures and subfunctions for perceiving, evaluating, and regulating behaviour, not a psychic agent that controls behaviour" (p.344). Thus, accepting the concept of choice does not necessarily place all the responsibility on the individual for their actions but is compatible with recognising the role of social structure and even behaviourism, although they are sometimes on the opposite side of the freewill and determinism debate (Black 1991). Even if the social forces are powerful, there are still a lot of

socially disadvantaged people who choice not to become involved in crime (Schulman 1990). Whatever the cause for the behaviour, the individual involved is considered to have the ability to change themselves.

The conception of choice proposed considers the biases that may exist in the decision making process (e.g. information available, past experiences, psychological states) as Cornish and Clarke (1985 1989) suggest in rational choice theory. Cornish and Clarke considered decision making for criminal events. It is proposed that many of the biases involved in short term decision making may also apply to a longer term decisions such as criminal propensity.

It is suggested that if a more long term life choice is based on a sense of helplessness about not being able to achieve in obtaining skills, gain employment or survive financially. Crime may not be considered as the favoured option so it may appear as an option under constant review and be considered as a last resort if nothing else works out. The costs and rewards of theft may not balanced in any conventional way (Wilson and Abrahamse 1992) and the unplanned and spontaneous nature of crime may occur as a product of the decision making process as well as a lack of skill. It is called a rational choice because it may appear so to the person making the choice.

Perhaps the most perplexing aspect of considering long term involvement in property theft is what reinforces this behaviour. Klockars (1974) indicates that thieves traditionally receive a third of the retail value from a fence as the wholesale price is about half

the retail value. A third is the next easiest fraction after a half. Klockars also describes a number of tricks that a fence may use to lower the price such as saying the goods aren't complete (e.g. not the right lens for the camera), that they are out of season, impractical, or of poor quality. A fence may rely on the fact that thieves have little knowledge of the goods that they are selling. Many goods stolen are second hand and may just be sold down at the pub for fifty dollars.

These kinds of gains seem to make it hardly worthwhile taking the risk. For some (or in some situations) having a little money may be better than not having any at all. Perhaps this also helps explain the age-crime relationship, the relative gains from crime may decrease in proportion to earning potential. The question is what mechanisms may maintain a belief in the viability of crime.

One possibility is that there is a sense of commitment to their chosen course. Again Festinger's (1957) concept of reducing cognitive dissonance seems useful. There are a number of studies reviewed by Myers (1988) which have found that once a decision is made, other choices that seemed equally desirable before decision making are down rated after decision making. We are inclined towards upgrading a chosen alternative and having a more negative perspective on the options passed over. We are then not so painfully aware of dissonant cognitions (e.g.. the negative side of crime and the positive side of work) once we have committed ourselves to a course of action.

Also, if there is a sense of helplessness about achieving in a conventional sense, upgrading the chosen option of crime may be accentuated. There may be a tendency to exaggerate the gains from a criminal lifestyle such as money received and freedom from work. This may also play a part in restoring self-esteem through gaining the admiration of delinquent peers (e.g.. Bynner et al 1981 from Harter 1990).

The viability of run of the mill crime may be perceived because of it's apparent ease. Burglary may be as easy as finding an open window. Yet 'to achieve' as a thief knowledge of security measures for commercial targets may be required. There is the possibility of escalation, seeking more profitable returns using more sophisticated techniques or robbery where cash is 'guaranteed'. In qualifying this, Erez (1987) noted that planning was a relatively stable quality over the criminal career, most did not plan but there was a small proportion who did.

To shed light on how a decision for action is formulated, picoeconomics or "micro-micro" economics sees choice as being based on a set of internalised, competing discount curves (Ainslie 1992). Discount curves are a formulation of the costs and benefits and the time till the reward is received. Ainslie addresses the question of why people choose more immediate rewards rather than seeking longer term greater awards. He suggests that there is a innate tendency to discount future rewards in proportion to the delay required to obtain the reward and thus there is a bias towards poorer immediate choices. This innate tendency is suggested as a mechanism related to satiating immediate biological

drives, a mechanism adaptive in our past for survival but not as important now. Picoeconomics seems applicable to both the choice for criminal involvement and for seeking simple targets. Influences on the choice for criminal behaviour may include biological tendencies, degrees of reinforcement for delinquent and non-delinquent behaviour, and helplessness experienced (e.g. not achieving at school, unemployment, victimisation). An influence on seeking simple targets may be a sense of ambivalence about the criminal option. Choosing a criminal identity out of a range of *possible selves* (i.e. multiple conceptions of who we might become: Oyersman and Markus 1990 1990a) may not be considered, even by the individuals involved, to be the most desirable.

Being able to integrate a choice for criminal involvement into a view of oneself is probably not a simple task. We may seek to view ourselves in a positive way yet these are behaviours that society finds abhorrent enough to formally label them criminal. Billig et al (1988 from Gergen 1991) suggest that people are typically in a state of internal conflict about their values, goals and ideals. Examples given are holding prejudices while considering it important to be open minded, that there should be equality but hierarchies are good also, and that people are basically the same but individuality is important. "Billig proposes that the capacity for contradiction is essential to the practical demands of life in contemporary society" (p.72 Gergen 1991). Gergen (1991) would suggest that the myriad of social information and interaction available now produces a wider scope of roles and characteristics and set beliefs about oneself may be placed in jeopardy.

On the opposite side of the coin, Festinger (1957) suggests that there is a need to integrate apparent contradictions to cut down cognitive dissonance. Developmentally, there is also a trend towards integration of apparent contradictions about oneself in different social situations. As teenagers gain cognitive abilities, they first learn to detect inconsistencies across roles (ages 14 to 15) and then they are able to integrate these apparent contradictions (ages 17 to 18: Harter 1986 from Harter 1990).

The way in which a thief may justify, or integrate, negative victimising behaviour is to set boundaries on their own behaviour. These may include selection of targets (e.g. one's that can afford to take a loss or are perceived as immoral), setting boundaries on types of goods stolen (e.g. not toys) and not vandalising. Comments such as "There are some things that I have done that I am not proud of but I am basically a good person" may put their behaviour into some kind of context. In consideration of issues about how an offender may percieve themselves (self esteem, self-efficacy) and their social environment, the affectometer was included.

The above considerations suggest that the formation of a criminal identity is subject to biases in decision making. These distortions may maintain a belief in the viability of crime and be based on a sense of helplessness about achieving in a conventional sense.

1.4 *ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS*

In whatever form the statistics on crime are looked at in New Zealand, Maori are over-represented. From the cohort study by Lovell and Norriss (1990), non-Maori members of the cohort were considerably less likely than Maori to appear in court and to continue offending. "Of the non-Maori group, 78% made no appearance, while the corresponding figure for the Maori group was 53%. Among those who did appear in court, the majority (52%) of the non-Maori group did so only once, whereas only 34% of the Maori group made a single appearance" (Lovell and Norris 1990:56). As the number of appearances rises so does the proportion of Maori relative to non-Maori. For those who have one appearance Maori make up 10% of this group but by the time four appearances are reached Maori make up just over forty percent of the more persistent offenders. For both the Maori and non-Maori, those who had made over seven appearances were a relatively small group (8.3% of Maori and 2.1% of non-Maori). The 1990 Justice Department statistics show that 48% of prisoners were Maori.

Considering the high rate of crime committed by Maori, it is not surprising that this is an issue that concerns most New Zealanders regardless of race. Syd Jackson (Metro, August 1989) comments:

> "Maoris are angry, frustrated and hurt by the pressures causing young people to become prison fodder. They agonise over the damage which crime causes our people. The waste of imprisonment, the violence spilt out of Maori upon Maori, and the shame inflicted by crime upon Maori families are matters which tear the Maori community apart" (p.146)

Evelyn Stokes (1985) notes that Maori culture places great emphasis on the welfare of the people. He aha te mea nui, he aha te taonga o nga iwi? - he tangata, he tangata, he tangata. What is the most important thing in the heritage of the tribes? It is people, it is people, it is people. The issue of why Maori become involved in crime fulfils a central criteria for cross cultural research - it arises out of the needs of the cultural groups involved.

Extending Knowledge Through Cross-Cultural Research

There are many difficulties with doing cross cultural research which means that special care needs to be taken. Maori culture, it's structure and values can only be observed from a Pakeha perspective by this researcher. The planning of research questions has evolved from a Pakeha perspective, it takes an individual approach to the offender rather than considering him in the context of his whanau (family).

Research from a white cultural perspective has been considered by many as not serving Maori well. Once beliefs have been formed by 'experts', they may be difficult to shake. Smith (1991) notes that:

> "The social settings of the Pakeha into which Maori people ventured - the school, the health system, the welfare system, the justice system - have at the same time provided researchers a point of entry into Maori society. This has been essentially crisis research directed at explaining the causes of Maori failure and supposedly solving Maori problems. On the basis of research carried out on these sites

> of encounters, researchers made huge inferential leaps and generalisations about how the rest of Maori society functioned, and which elements of the society were inhibiting successful development (Curtis 1983)" (p.51-52).

The social policy derived has also been criticised for being ethnocentric (Jackson 1988), providing Pakeha solutions to Maori problems.

In summarising this problem, it seems that Pakeha have suggested solutions that take Maori out of their cultural context. Ideas on acculturalisation have been culturally impoverishing, culturally debilitating and denies the existence of separate realities and values. Smith comments

> "We as Maori still live with the consequences of early research which was written within the context of colonisation, evolutionary theory or deficit and cultural deprivation theories. We still have to live with the myths established in an earlier era even though they were debunked some time ago...We still live with beliefs about Maori society which our own oral traditions and lived reality contradict" (p.54).

Yet it appears difficult for both Maori and Pakeha to diagnose complex social problems and carefully devise and instigate social policy and strategies that are culturally acceptable and effective. Moves to culturally educate young Maori are long-term solutions as is the building of financial resources for Maori. Quick fix solutions to complex social problems are dubious.

Solutions proposed by Maori may not deal directly with criminal behaviour. Teaching Maori culture has many benefits that can meet the needs of Maori in general. Increasing social support, social competence, self efficacy and identity are important goals in themselves, may have transference value to other situations, they are likely to lower criminal propensity. However, it may also be like setting self-esteem[9] as a target without decreasing antisocial tendencies, an approach found to be ineffective by the meta-analyses on offender treatment (McLaren 1992).

It is suggested that Pakeha research may be useful in diagnosing problems and suggesting solutions. Smith suggests that the challenge ahead is to produce research that is meaningful for Maori people. Even though cultural research has it's dangers, not having research is also impoverishing. It is means by which we may avert social crisis. There is concern about Maori becoming a permanent underclass (c.f. Warwick Rogers Metro, August 1992). The current cultural climate in New Zealand is one where research is openly discussed by both the research community and the researched community creating checks and balances that have not existed before.

It is clearly understood that Maori are the consumers of this research and the benefits may be a cultural understanding of a Maori vulnerability to criminal behaviour. This is not suggesting that we dismantle cultural structures, it is also suggested that there are certain propensities created by white culture

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[9]Cultural identity is a more broadly based concept than self-esteem and this may limit the usefulness of this comparison.

(e.g. individualism, consumerism, identity being strongly tied to one's financial status and profession). It is hoped that cultural vulnerabilities will be illuminated so that they can be worked on within their cultural context.

Avenues for Investigation

In considering Maori over representation within the justice system, there are three avenues for investigation. The first is the socio-economic perspective which suggests that the lack of financial and social resources creates a vulnerability to crime regardless of race. The second considers social injustice and how this may create a victim to victimiser cycle. Third, is the possibility that reasons for Maori involvement may differ from those of Pakeha because of cultural differences.

Socio-economic Vulnerability

Recently, an O.E.C.D. report has commented that the unemployment rate for Maori is 25% (The Press, 26th February, 1993). Alan Te Waka comments "The main reason is because of the economics of things. If your on the dole and you need money....and you can't get it by going out and getting a job....the only other way they know of to get money is through crime" (Metro, August 1992, p.55). Family factors contribute also. Warwick Rogers comments "the figures show that almost half of all Maori families are headed by a solo (almost always female) parent, that Maori solo parents make up a quarter of all solo parents and that Maori men have a disgraceful record of beating their women and children, and

abandoning them, strongly suggests that another generation of Maori will be lost. The metaphor of a social time bomb is an apt one" (Metro, August 1992, p.8).

It is possible that Maori find themselves over-represented within the criminal justice system simply because they are over-represented in the lower social strata. The recent work of Fergusion, Horwood and Lynskey (1993) found that when a wide range of social and family measures were taken into consideration and self-report measures were used, "children of Maori and Pacific Island ethnicity did not have significantly higher rates of violent offences, property offences, total offences or offences including police contact than Pakeha kids reared in similar environments." They suggest that these results differ from earlier research (Fergusson Donnell & Slater 1975; Fifield & Donnell 1980) because they include a wide range of contextual factors (e.g. parental education levels, maternal age, family living standards and early parent/child interaction patterns) as well as economic measures.

Fergusson et al (1993) conclude that the commonly held view that Maori are more prone to offending is illusory and confuses ethnicity with socio-economic status. They suggest that Maori youth are responding to the pressures that they are experiencing now and not to historically based injustices as Jackson (1988) suggests. "The historical processes which have led to Maori being disadvantaged in New Zealand may be quite different from the processes which sustain this position of disadvantage" (p.166).

Social Injustice

It is possible that the high number of Maori who are criminal creates a burden for all Maori. "In the eyes of society today, many Pakeha think that all Maori are criminals....it doesn't matter what you do, people say 'Those Maori fellas over there all look like criminals' " (Shane Young, Metro, August 1992, p.55).

Labelling Maori as criminal is thought to explain some of the differences between Maori and Pakeha involvement in the justice system (Jackson 1988). Even with a Bill of Rights (1990) to protect Maori and other racial groups from racism, decision making (charging, convicting, sentencing) may still be affected by stereotypes held about Maori.

However, more central to the concerns of Maori is social injustice. In particular, a Maori historical perspective views a number of land transferences as having occurred illegally or with Pakeha changing the rules to suit them (Awatere 1984). Oliver (1991) notes that by the middle of 1991, 243 claims had been lodged with the Waitangi tribunal. These social injustices may create a victim to victimiser cycle.

It is not unnatural for people to be angry when faced with injustice. Feelings of anger and thoughts of retaliation may be common experiences of victims as is illustrated by an article on thieving at Canterbury University (Canta, 16 June, 1992). Students were asked "What would you do if you ever caught the thief stealing your car/bike?" The responses reported were:

1. " You'd want to hit them but I couldn't hit anyone if I tried. I'd have a few choice words with him."
2. "Certainly I'd have words with them.....tell them to piss off, lay into them."
3. "You'd throttle them."
4. "I'd get some chains and take their clothes off and then drag them behind my new motorbike that replaced the stolen one."
5. "What can you do? A person like that you can't stop them. Maybe I'd get them to eat what's left of my stolen bike."

Maltreatment may alter the physiology of the organism itself and may exacerbate pre-existing psychobiological vulnerabilities (e.g. adolescence, males). "It is reasonable to hypothesise that abusive, neglectful treatment diminishes concentrations in the brain of substances such as serotonin that ordinarily help to modulate feelings; maltreatment seems to increase the outpouring of substances such as dopamine and testosterone that enhance competitive and retaliatory aggression. These same substances also contribute to hyper vigilance, and thus increase the fearfulness and paranoia that give rise to violent acts" (Lewis 1992:388).

Some Maori still express the hurt that they experience in colonisation. "Let us be honest about where the real crime is coming from. Is it Maori crime? No. The crime is that it was wrong to oppress a culture, and to say that another culture is the way to live.....The biggest crime, again, is what they're doing to the resources....." (Pona Matenga, Metro, August, 1992:57). "We were the power of the land. There were 200,000 of us compared to

2,000 Pakeha. If we wanted to wipe the white man out we could have bloody done that. But because of our make-up, our nature, the sort of people we are, we're an aroha people....." *if you've got so much aroha, why is the Maori crime rate so high* "We are the most aroha people on this earth. You take 150 years of decimation and still to this day we're prepared to negotiate as far as resources are concerned" (Dawson Rata, Metro, August, 1992:57). Feelings of anger are tempered by seeking solutions to problems, some of which have found a solution.

Maori tohunga express the hurt that their people have felt in holistic terms. The effects are seen as having impacted on physical, mental, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Jackson (1988) outlines five areas of impact:

1) Te Wahanga ki te ao Maori (the place of the Maori community),
2) Te Wahanga ki te Whanau Maori (the place of the Maori family),
3) Te Wahanga ki nga Rangatahi Maori (the place of the Maori youth),
4) Te Wahanga kai Ngawari ai te Ngakau o te Maori (the place of the Maori peace of mind) and
5) Te wahi whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro (the place of the changing attitudes).

These factors are thought to impact on Maori creating a unique criminal vulnerability. Social injustice and acculturalisation are central themes in how Maori vulnerability may be different from Pakeha, the former being something that can be looked at in terms of it's direct impact on offending rationale.

Maori Differences

Working from a base of socio-economic disadvantage being a risk factor for criminality, there are two distinct possibilities for consideration. The first is that social disadvantage afflicts two populations (Maori, Pakeha) in somewhat different ways but that these factors lead to common consequences (educational disadvantage, offending behaviour). The second is that there is little difference between Maori and Pakeha and that a predisposition to offending is pre-dominantly socio-economic in nature.

In consideration of this second point, Fergusson et al (1993) note that there sample of Maori come from pre-dominantly bicultural backgrounds with one parent being Pakeha and that they may have a weak identification or attachment to traditional and contemporary Maori culture and values. Their study occurred in Christchurch (where this present study has been undertaken), where Maori are clearly a minority and are more integrated into Pakeha culture (Anderson 1991). Due consideration has been given to the question of ethnicity when devising this study with the use of the cultural identity questionnaire (Morgan 1991) to consider different amounts of identification as Maori and Pakeha.

The two different perspectives on whether there are or aren't differences between Maori and Pakeha can be viewed in the context of culture perspectives. Pakeha culture has a desire to integrate differences and to find ultimate solutions whereas Polynesian based cultures historically have chosen to incorporate

differences and keep options open. "Cultures with this kind of history assimilate but are not easily assimilated. They can draw into their cultural identity....all manner of new ideas, techniques, skills, and people as they rework their history accordingly (Borofsky 1987)" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991:103).

Even if Maori assimilate and intermarry with Pakeha this does not necessarily mean that they loose their basic premises and principles of action about how to bring up children and what characteristics are desirable in their children. In the history of anthropology the transmission of culture has been considered as unconscious (e.g. Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1946 from Ritchie and Ritchie 1991) through to a more precise behavioural view considering social learning theories, behavioural modelling, shaping, re-inforcement, learning style, and preferences which together can be described as a behavioural ecology. Socialisation is the process through which culturally defined behavioural, cognitive and affective goals are attained, a "process whereby cultural assumptions are acquired" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991:101).

In Polynesian culture, one's personhood is embedded in social relations and community. The term whanau is not restricted to a nuclear family but may be as broad ranging as the community in which one belongs. "At the symbolic level, community is the hook on which one's identity hangs, the group from which one draw's one's membership and for whose company one longs, even when they are not around" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1979:21 from Ritchie and Ritchie 1991). Traditionally Maori have been part of extended family groups where the term mother and father can be applied to

relatives of the parental generation. Traditionally a child can develop a range of emotional ties, have a range of role models, move between households and are not locked into punitive situations. The community is supposed to act parentally -to admonish, to instruct, to punish and to comfort.

Ritchie and Ritchie describe Polynesian culture as hierarchical and horizontally integrated ("age-graded peer structures that appear like regular swells on the Pacific ocean" p.112). Independence training occurs early on and children are encouraged to turn to others, usually grandparents who may buffer the discontinuity of parental attention and provide continuity of interpersonal warmth and indulgence . The effects of these socialisation techniques is a turning from adult to peer dependency and involvement in a wider group fostering skills in social vigilance. An understanding of status and learning respectfulness are an integral part of Polynesian culture, although it should be noted that there is no comparable socialisation technique to instil respect for authority figures from Pakeha social structures. The shame experienced for digressing from communal norms as well as receiving swift and harsh feedback are social control methods that Maori have traditionally relied on (Jackson 1988). This can be contrasted with a justice system created to deal with modern urban environments which may be protracted, capricious and unpredictable, where the outcome may be varied and the chances of getting caught uncertain. Both Maori and Pakeha have considered the limitations of these characteristics.

In conjunction with the hierarchical structure found in Polynesian culture is the "free and easy camaraderie with other children, the preferred and most constant form of behaviour. From their peers children learned the 'how to' of living.....from adults they learn 'when to' and respect" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991:100). Within these peer groups there is rivalry, virtually everyone in one's age group could be regarded as a sibling. However, traditionally there was also strong social forces to minimise this rivalry, everyone had some relatedness and was given some respect. Within this framework consensus is valued, it enhances a sense of community. Learning how to balance individual and community interests, how to respect individual differences is a complex socialisation process that requires continuos learning. "The rules of competition and co-operation need to be learned well if one is to play the game effectively. The capacity to drop yesterday's conflict for today's co-operation is learned in children's activities, is reinforced in the games adolescents play, and is carried over into the political arenas of the adult world" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991:113).

In consideration of the strength of peer group dynamics in Polynesian culture, this may be a clearly identifiable criminal vulnerability for Maori. Ritchie and Ritchie place this view in perspective:

> "Despite strong counter pressures, peer groups do remain central to Polynesian social life in urban environments. They cross-cut the class structure of high schools and they persist in inhospitable suburbs, where they are often seen as delinquent gangs. There is no doubt that Polynesian peer groups can become venial and vicious, and the media promotes such an image (Kelsey and Young 1982),

> but it is also true that thousands of Polynesian youths learn the strategies of urban living through participating in peer groups without involvement in drugs, crime or anti-social behaviour. We know of young people who are running their own co-operatives (Pene 1983), and throughout New Zealand there are new youth groups regularly competing in cultural festivals, operating like substitute family for individuals otherwise isolated from kin. Two high schools in South Auckland have successfully restructured their school organisation on a peer affiliation basis, calling each group a *whanau* 'family'. These examples demonstrate that there are no inherent incompatibilities between Polynesian peer socialisation patterns and modern urban life" (p.123).

1.5 SPECIFIC THEMES

From the criminological literature, offender accounts, the developmental and ethnic perspective, a number of specific themes have been considered for which it is possible to formulate specific hypotheses. The hypotheses formed consider these themes in relation to the amount of offending, each other and suggested cultural differences. In considering the amount of offending, there are two measures used in this study, the amount of officially recorded offending (recidivism) and the frequency of offending that is self-reported as occurring over the past year (lambda). There will also be some consideration of whether combining these two measures will have an accumulative effect. The continuums upon which the amount of offending will be considered are nonpersistent to persistent (recidivism) and infrequent to frequent (lambda).

Criminal Choice

The rational choice view of the adoption of a criminal identity is seen as one where legitimate choices are considered unavailable, difficult to obtain, and crime is seen as a viable alternative. Thus, the following hypothesis has been proposed:

Hypothesis 1: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders will report that their choice to be involved in crime is based on the unavailability of legitimate means to obtain financial resources and the viability of crime.*

In considering the viability of crime, it is proposed that the attainment of financial resources will be a more important factor for Pakeha. One of the limitations of the classic versions of strain theory (Cohen 1955, Cloward and Ohlin 1960 from Agnew 1992) is that the achievement of monetary success may be a culturally based goal (Kornhauser 1978, from Agnew 1992).

Hypothesis 2: *Pakeha will be more likely to choose crime for the financial rewards than Maori.*

Compulsion

As well as considering the practicalities and rationality for criminal involvement, there is also the emotional aspects too. In particular, a number of studies have found that excitement is an important motivator (Bennett and Wright 1984, LeBlanc and Frechette 1989, Agnew 1990a).

Miller (1980, from Pithers, Kashima, Cummings & Beal, 1987) has delineated commonalties of addictive or "compulsive" behaviours. The common characteristics of addictive behaviours being: "(1)Immediate acquisition of short-term satisfaction at the expense of delayed negative consequences; (2) high personal and social costs; (3) an absence of any treatment with proven superior effectiveness; (4) the lack of a single, empirically validated etiology; (5) the difficulty inherent in transferring initial behaviour changes into enduring changes after termination." (p. 3)

The addictive paradigm has been effectively applied to a range of behaviours where short term rewards are considered over long term costs. This has included drug and alcohol problems as well as criminal behaviours such as sex offending. The application of such a paradigm suggests the need for behavioural management and relapse prevention strategies rather than having a 'cure'.

Although the addictive paradigm has not been literally formulated for property crimes, it does appear to meet Miller's criteria. Property crime offers immediate gratification and may be compulsive for some offenders. This may be particularly true of those who find such behaviour exciting as many compulsive behaviours meet instrumental needs. Relapse prevention strategies often deal with the handling of negative emotional states so that there is not a desire to seek short term gratification (e.g. Pithers et al 1987). Cummings, Gordon and Marlatt (1980, from Pithers et al) analysis of 311 clients showed that three high risk situations - negative emotional state, interpersonal conflict, and social pressure - were the primary determinants of a relapse

regardless of the substance (food, alcohol, drugs, and cards) abused.

In consideration of the role of excitement, data has also been collected on when the excitement occurred (before, during and after) and how long the excitement lasted for. The following hypotheses have been formed.

Hypothesis 3: *Compulsive property offending, as measured by self reports of impulsiveness and difficulty stopping, will be related to the excitement it generates.*

Hypothesis 4: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders are likely to be compulsive in their behaviour.*

Situational Responding

In proposing a rationality that could be contrasted with that of persistent and frequent offenders, it is suggested that infrequent offending may relate more to a specific situation that they find themselves in. This may relate to peer pressure, learning by mistakes as well as financial stress. This type of rationale may apply to those who only make minimal contact with the law as well as those that Barnett, Blumstein & Farrington (1987) label as 'occasionals' (offending over a number of years but infrequently).

Hypothesis 5: *Infrequent offenders may view their involvement in crime as a response to the situation that they find themselves in (e.g. stress, peer pressure).*

Peer pressure is readily identified by some offenders as a dynamic central to their criminal involvement (Bennett & Wright 1984). Social learning theories have considered how the peer culture may "(1) differentially re-inforce the adolescent's delinquency, (2) model delinquent behaviour, and/or (3) transmit delinquent values" (Agnew 1992:49). In considering whether delinquency is a consequence of what one thinks or what peers do, Warr and Stafford (1991) concluded that delinquency is not primarily a consequence of attitudes acquired from peers. Youths engaged in the same delinquent acts may have quite different reasons for offending. Warr and Stafford conclude that delinquency stems from social learning mechanisms such as imitation, vicarious re-inforcement, or from group pressures to conform. It also appears that those who limit their criminal behaviour to adolescence need peer support for crime while persistent offenders are willing to act alone (Knight and West 1975 from Moffitt 1993, Little 1990). It is suggested that those who attribute their involvement to peers have no strong desire to seriously involve themselves in crime. Thus, the influence of peers may be highly salient.

In qualifying the above statement, consideration of the strength of peer group dynamics in Polynesian culture is also a consideration. The following hypothesis has been formulated.

Hypothesis 6: *Maori are more likely than Pakeha to be influenced by peers to become involved in crime.*

Justifications

Consideration of whether criminals approve of their acts has been a long standing debate in criminology. Central to this debate is the question of whether their is acceptance of criminal behaviour within a delinquent subgroup or whether certain techniques are employed to neutralise the impact of their behaviour (Agnew and Peters 1986). In consideration of Flannagan's (1991) conception of human morality, it is possible that these inconsistencies may occur together. Peer group dynamics may suggest that some form justifications for their behaviour while for others, the influence of peers may be more important, and their view of criminal behaviour as temporary may mean that no justifications are considered. Those who are instrumental in organising the criminal event may assume that others have similar justifications and work from this base. Reiss and Farrington (1991 from Moffitt 1993) found that the most experienced, high rate offenders tend to recruit different co-offenders for each offence.

Neutralisation techniques allow offenders to deny guilt that they might otherwise experience. Agnew & Peters (1986:82) outline the five forms that this may take:

(1) In denial of responsibility, delinquents claim that their acts are due to forces beyond their control - such as unloving parents or drug use.
(2) In denial of injury, delinquents claim that their acts are harmless.
(3) In denial of the victim, delinquents may claim that their victims got what they deserved.
(4) In condemnation of the condemners, delinquents claim that their victims got what they deserved.
(5) In appeal to higher loyalties, delinquents state that loyalty to friends may sometimes necessitate delinquent acts.

In consideration of these thought patterns, a number of items have been included to look at feelings about victims and social justice. The following hypothesis has been formed:

Hypothesis 7: *Social injustice, as measured by equity and perceived honesty of others, is more likely to be a consideration of persistent offenders.*

In the cross-cultural context, it was decided to explore the view of social injustice and whether this may have any bearing on Maori offending rationale. Would the views of young men be similar to those of more informed social commentators? The following hypothesis has been formed.

Hypothesis 8: *Maori are more likely to consider social injustice than Pakeha in their rationale for involvement in property crime.*

Planning

A more long term decision for criminal involvement is not considered to be incompatible with the spontaneous and ill-planned nature of crime. The cons of criminal involvement may still make crime a difficult choice and the availability of the criminal option may be perceived because of its' apparent ease. In consideration of this, the following hypothesis has been proposed.

Hypothesis 9: *The planning of crimes can be separated from reasons for involvement (criminal choice, compulsion, situational response).*

This would support Erez's (1987) findings of no definitive link between planning and reasons given (chance factors, mistake by police, excitement and nonchance or rational reasons). Erez (1987) found that planning did not change over the career of a criminal, from first to last offence. Those who planned initially were likely to plan continuously whereas those who didn't plan were likely to continue acting impulsively. Overall, the majority of offenders (66%) reported committing their offences impulsively with another (17%) perceiving their actions as accidental. The range of offences examined covered the spectrum of crime: status offences, offences against property and other index crimes (violent and sexual).

Social Control

The work of Hirschi and Gottfredson suggesting the role that social bonding may have on 'involvement in' and 'desistence from' criminal activity has been a major theoretical influence in criminology over the past twenty years. Basically, social control theory suggests that a lack of social bonding (e.g. family, non-delinquent peers, school, employment) is predictive of involvement while social bonding is predictive of non-involvement in crime. Usually the form that measuring social control has taken has been a consideration of: attachment to significnat others, commitment to convetional subsystems, involvement in conventional activities, and beliefs in conventional norms (e.g. Paternoster 1989, Junger-tas 1992). It was decided in this study to measure more directly what this meant to an offender in

terms of the support they might recieve or the disapproval they may experience.

Hypothesis 10: *Social bonding, as measured by consideration of family and friends support and disapproval as well as employment, will be a major influence on the intention to desist from crime.*

Also, in consideration of the way that social bonding occurs developmentally, this may not relate to the reasons for involvement or how much offending has occurred (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Liebrich (1993) gives an example of a young women who seemed quite intent on continuing with crime but once she had a child was no longer willing to take the risk.

Hypothesis 11: *Social bonding, as a reason for desistence, will not relate to the amount of offending that has previously occured (recidivism).*

Hypothesis 12: *Social bonding as a reason for desistence will not relate to criminal choice or compulsion as reasons for involvement.*

Practical considerations

In light of the utilitarian nature of property crime, the following hypothesis is proposed

Hypothesis 13: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders will be influenced by the practicalities of crime (i.e. how much money they make, trying not to get caught) in considering whether to desist.*

Deterrence

The reasons for desistence may be different for persistent offenders compared to those who involve themselves minimally with crime. In particular, there is a feeling that deterrents created by the justice system may be neutralised by persistent offenders (Little 1990). Offenders may consider these risks as part of their criminal lifestyle.

Hypothesis 14: *Infrequent as well as nonpersistent offenders are more likely to be deterred from crime than frequent and persistent offenders by justice system deterrents.*

1.6 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES.

INVOLVEMENT HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders will report that their choice to be involved in crime is based on the unavailability of legitimate means to obtain financial resources and the viability of crime.*

Hypothesis 2: *Pakeha will be more likely to choose crime for financial rewards than Maori.*

Hypothesis 3: *Compulsive property offending, measured by self reports of impulsiveness and difficulty stopping, will be related to the excitement it generates.*

Hypothesis 4: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders are likely to be compulsive in their behaviour*

Hypothesis 5: *Infrequent offenders may view their involvement as a response to the situation that they find themselves in (e.g. stress, peer pressure).*

Hypothesis 6: *Maori are more likely than Pakeha to be influenced to become involved in crime by peers.*

Hypothesis 7: *Social injustice, as measured by issues of equity and perceived honesty of others, is more likely to be a rationale of persistent offenders.*

Hypothesis 8: *Maori are more likely to consider social injustice than Pakeha in their rationale for involvement in property crime.*

Hypothesis 9: *The planning of crimes can be separated from reasons for involvement (criminal choice, compulsion, situational response).*

DESISTENCE HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 10: *Social bonding, as measured by consideration of family and friends support and disapproval as well as employment, will be a major influence on the intention to desist from crime.*

Hypothesis 11: *Social bonding, as a reason for desistence, will not relate to the amount of offending that has previously occurred (recidivism).*

Hypothesis 12: *Social bonding as a reason for desistence will not relate to criminal choice or compulsion as reasons for involvement.*

Hypothesis 13: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders will be influenced by the practicalities of crime (i.e. how much money they make, trying not to get caught) in considering whether to desist.*

Hypothesis 14: *Infrequent as well as non-persistent offenders are more likely to be deterred from crime than frequent and persistent offenders by justice system deterrents.*

Method

2.1 *Recruiting Participants*

The sample was obtained using convicted offenders involved in the Justice System sentenced to prison, supervision or periodic detention, the Youth Justice Section of the Department of Social Welfare, and the Hebron community's program containing youth 'at risk', in Christchurch, New Zealand. All participants were voluntary, signing a consent form explaining the aims of the study, confidentiality, and that participation would not affect their treatment within the justice system (see Appendix 1).

To obtain a sample ranging in age and recidivism[1] five groups where outlined: 1) male offenders under 18, with a conviction for property offending; 2) male offenders aged 18-24 sentenced to supervision or periodic detention whose most recent conviction was for a property crime and who had not been to jail; 3) male offenders aged 18-24 imprisoned for the first time for property offending; 4) male offenders aged 18-24 who have been imprisoned more than twice for property offending; and, 5) male imprisoned offenders aged 25-29 whose most recent conviction was for a property offence. The proposed objectives in terms of age and recidivism are illustrated in diagram 2.1.

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[1] This was for the purpose of looking at changes in rationality developmentally

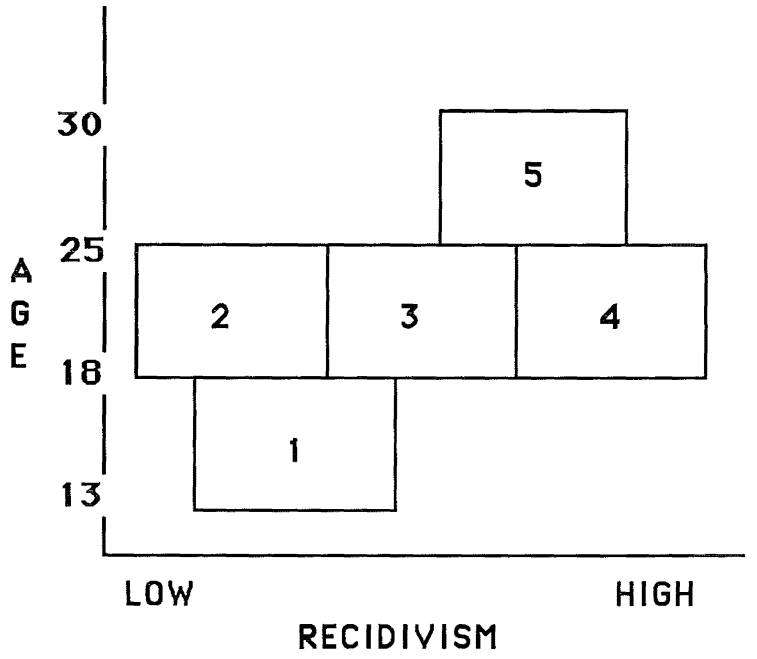

Figure 2.1: *Projected formulation of groups in relation to age and recidivism*

In defining a property offence, possession of or dealing in stolen goods were excluded. The involvement questionnaire included items on how the crime was committed creating a focus on 'active' offences (e.g. burglary, car theft, robbery).

Participants were interviewed on a one to one basis regardless of the setting that they were in (Prison, periodic detention, Kingslea, at home, the Hebron community). There was one exception, a young man who was willing to participate but only if his friends were present. The friends did not stay for the whole of the interview.

Offenders under the age of sixteen were obtained from; 1) Youth Justice Section of Social Welfare with the minority being obtained through their involvement in Family Group Conferences and the majority being in a residential setting, Kingslea; 2) The Hebron Community, a Catholic residential program containing

"at risk" youth, most of whom were past residents of Kingslea. Many of these offenders had been through the Youth Court. As well as obtaining permission from the children, parents permission was also sort for this group.

It is difficult to ascertain the numbers who were unwilling to participate. Those from both the Hebron community and Kingslea were willing to be part of the study. I encountered one rejection from this group and one parent denied permission. With the initial contact with Kingslea the young offenders were willing to participate but refused permission for their parents to be contacted. The Family group conference system showed a reverse in this willingness. Many parents (roughly 80%) expressed the desire not to be involved in the justice system further.

There were difficulties obtaining participants on community based sentences. An examination of probation officers and periodic detention centre records finding very few who fitted into the criteria of the study (i.e. not having been to prison). Offenders on community service were not approached as it was felt that it would undermine one of the objectives of this type of sentence, to have minimal contact with the justice system. An attempt was made to see whether those who had committed other types of crime and were willing to speak about their property offending. Two people on periodic detention were willing to be interviewed but one seemed unwilling to self-report rates of offending so this approach was abandoned. Their interviews were included as part of this group because in every other respect they had answered the questionnaire in a similar manner to other participants.

Those on community based sentences were less willing than those in prison to be interviewed with an estimated 30-40% declining. This reluctance was difficult to gauge since a probation officer or periodic detention supervisor often acted as an intermediary. The most common reason given appeared to be a denial of criminality, they did not see themselves as criminal and so had little desire to talk to someone about their behaviour. Another common reason was that it was a waste of time and nothing would change anyway. It was important that potential participants were approached in a positive manner and clearly understood that their participation was appreciated. This clearly impacted on their willingness to participate. Except for those on periodic detention who were interviewed during their detention, subjects were giving up their time to participate.

The prison groups were obtained from a medium to high security prison, Paparua, and a low security prison, Rolleston. Participants were selected on the basis of whether they fitted the age and recidivism criteria and were currently held for an offence against property (e.g. burglary, fraud, car theft, robbery). In considering the salience of their reasons for involvement, having been sentenced in the past twelve months was a criteria. Two participants were imprisoned for more than 12 months. Because of the unexpected shortage of subjects who fitted these criteria, prisons were visited twice with a two to three month gap between.

Most of the men contacted in prison were willing to be part of the study, the refusal rate was 9%. A small number (less than five)

were unwilling to be brought from the cells. A similar number declined when the study was explained to them. Some reasons cited were difficulties communicating with women or not seeing themselves as thieves. Three subjects who began the interview were excluded. One didn't complete the interview stating he was having difficulty adjusting to prison. For another preconceptions formed made impartiality difficult and the third was excluded for reasons of confidentiality.

Overall, motivation seemed high to participate in this study with many offenders in the prison system expressing a strong desire for help and for programs to stop re-offending. Most wished to be contacted about the outcome of this study.

2.2 *The Measurement Instruments And Their Implementation*

The questionnaire measures used in this study are:

1) Open-ended questions (see appendix 2);
2) The reasons for involvement questionnaire (see appendix 3);
3) The reasons for desistence questionnaire (see appendix 5);
4) Affectometer2 (see appendix 6: Kammann and Flett 1983);
5) Offending history questions (see appendix 7).
6) Cultural Identity Questionnaire (see appendix 8: Morgan 1991)
7) Demographic information: This was collected from participants and included their living arrangements, family structure, educational background, employment history and age.

Open ended questions

Open-ended questions were interspersed with the involvement and desistence questionnaires looking at the points that participants felt were most important and the hassles involved in crime (see appendix 2).

For each of these questions, a spontaneous answer was sought. However, if no spontaneous answer was given some prompting occurred. For the first question asked (why did you get involved...?) two answers were coded. If only one answer was given, prompting occurred for elaboration of this initial point. If multiple reasons were given, the first two were used, although occasionally more important points developed. In this cases, this point was coded after consultation with the participant about what they thought were the key points. For the other three open-ended questions, three answers were sought. If prompting occurred for these questions, it usually concerned points raised earlier in the interview or elaborated on the scope of items that may be included. For the question on the important reason for desistence, shame and giving up drugs were prompted for if no spontaneous answer was given as these were felt to be important omissions from the questionnaire.

The Involvement Questionnaire

The starting point for the formulation of the involvement questionnaire was offender accounts of the origins of their offending (e.g. Maguire & Bennett 1980; Bennett & Wright 1984; Agnew 1990a; Le Blanc & Frechette 1989; Goldstein 1990). In particular, there was an examination of the work of those that specifically related to burglars (Bennett and Wright 1984, Maguire and Bennett 1980).

The main objective in formulating the questionnaire was to cover a broad spectrum of reasons for involvement that could be structured by factor analysis. These included hedonistic and utilitarian motives, family factors, the role of drugs and alcohol, planning, spontaneity, assessment of risk, assessment of ability, perspective's on victims, perspective's of the trustworthiness of co-offenders, society and inter-cultural injustice, negative and positive affect, and perception of difficulties in obtaining employment.

Parsimony and common usage were considered in formulating items. Verbal explanations were used to clarify meaning and adapt items to the individual circumstances of the participant. Commonly used verbal explanations are italicised in appendix 3. Considering that the questionnaire was exploratory and had not been subject to previous testing, verbal rephrasing were used if the meaning was unclear to the participant. Participants readily gave feedback on items on the questionnaire and if their reason for involvement was clearly similar to the underlying idea being gauged, this was accepted for this item. For example, if someone

responded that they wanted food when living on the street, this was considered similar to needing money to pay bills. Both were to meet basic needs.

To minimalise the effects of order, items were mixed according to positive or negative affect invoked.[2] The questionnaire was trailed on two subjects before the commencement of the study. Since this was a short trail, an open-ended question was included to gauge whether offenders considered that anything important had been left off the questionnaire.

Some indication of the reliability of participants was gauged by how seriously they took the questionnaire. Most participants gave complex reasons for their involvement, regardless of their intelligence, and were consistent in their answers throughout. If I felt that a participant was not being reliable they were approached about how they felt about being a part of the study. One interview was terminated when a participant admitted that they were not giving honest answers and they were having trouble adjusting to prison. Usually participants were keen to give their perspective on their criminal involvement. Most seriously considered their involvement and the reason one person did not complete the questionnaire was because it was difficult to deal with the emotional depth of feeling in a study which asked for ratings of importance. This persons data was included.

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[2]Appendix 3 does not list items in the order used but alphabetically for key words.

In administering the questionnaire offenders were asked how important each item on the involvement questionnaire was for getting involved in any property crime (burglary, car theft, theft, robbery) over the past year. The questions covered both why and how (modus operandi) and so some items may be important for why they got involved and other items may be important for how they would do their offending. Sometimes there was difficulty understanding what important meant, the word influence was commonly used to describe importance. Participants were asked to consider their own offending and not what might get offenders involved generally.

For the question on excitement, if participants considered this important for their involvement, they were asked how long they were excited for and when this feeling of excitement occurred (before, during or after).

It is assumed that their most recent property crime would be most salient and the open-ended question on why they had got involved was administered first to increase this salience. Offenders were handed a page containing the likert scale used (see appendix 4). This contained five ratings of importance and two other options, "the situation doesn't apply to me" or "I didn't think about it." In consideration of the time span covered (one year), they were also told that if it was an important reason for some of their offending, then this was mid-range.

The desistence questionnaire

The reasons for desistence questionnaire was more difficult to formulate due to the small number of offender accounts in this area. Usually research on desistence has focused on maturational reform - lifestyle offenders (those who continued well past the time when most offenders had stopped) re-evaluation of their life (Shover 1983; Gibbons and Jolin 1987)[3]. The formation of this questionnaire relied on ideas expressed in the literature (e.g. social control theory, labelling, deterrence) and was helped by trailing the questionnaire first. Items about being able to meet their own needs were included.

The themes for the desistence questionnaire (in appendix 5) were: the role of family and friends, deterrence, meeting needs (getting a job, staying out of debt, support from social workers/probation officers), lack of financial rewards and crime hassles (labelling, the police, not being able to trust other thieves).

The desistence questionnaire was administered in a similar manner to the involvement questionnaire. Again the likert scale in appendix 4 was used. There was no time span covered and so the ratings concerned the important reasons for desisting now.

At the end of the questionnaire, an open-ended question was included to discover whether participants felt that anything important had been left off the questionnaire.

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[3] Liebrich (1993) has recently completed a study looking at reasons for giving up crime.

Affectometer2

The Affectometer measures life satisfaction and general happiness. It inclusions is to give a rounded perspective on offenders and the relationship between how they feel about themselves and the reasons for involvement and desistence.

Validity and reliability were investigated by Kammann and Flett (1983). They reported an alpha of .95 and strong correlations with other well-being scales. The authors imposed 10 mnemonic categories, the items used to measure them are shown in appendix 6. These categories are: confluence, optimism, self-esteem, self efficacy, social support, social interest, energy, cheerfulness and thought clarity.:

The questionnaire was administered verbally using the following instructions: "The next set of question are about life satisfaction and emotional fulfilment. They are questions about how you feel about yourself and the world. I would like you to tell me how often you have felt like this over the past week. You have five chooses: Not at all, Occasionally, Some of the time, All of the time and Often. Don't worry about what I may think, just answer as honestly as possible." Participants were handed a page showing the five options available. They were also informed that items referring to social interest referred to their family and friends and not to the prison environment.

Offending history

The offending history questions related to age of onset, self-reported frequency of offending over the past year (lambda λ), acceleration or deceleration and specialisation or diversification. As well as offender accounts, criminal records were also examined for information on their property offending. The information used in this study is the amount of self-reported offending over the past year (lambda) and the amount of recidivism for property offending on their criminal records.

Lambda was collected for six crime situations: 1) shoplifting; 2) burglary; 3) car theft; 4) Using a knife or a gun in order to obtain money or goods; 5) threatening someone in order to get money or goods (without a gun or knife); 6) stealing something worth more than $20 that has not already been counted.

Lambda was calculated adding all these categories together, adjusted to fit a year time frame (i.e. some offenders were not out of prison for a year). In deciding how to split lambda into groups there was a confounding factor, there was only two spaces given for coding lambda and so those reporting over 100 offences were coded as 99. In dividing the sample into four groups consideration was given to those coded as 99 and they were all placed in the top group. Those in this group often were reporting well in excess of 100. The cut-off points for these groups are 4, 36 and 175 suggesting an exponential growth curve.

The period over which lambda was estimated was one year. Horney and Marshall (1991) note that researchers have found different estimates of lambda depending on the reference period used. If the reference period was shorter, this tended to lead to higher estimates. In administering this question reference periods were adjusted, participants were given an option of days, weeks or months. It was not assumed that offending occurred at a constant rate over time, participants were asked about gaps in offending or times when offending had been less than usual. Wilson and Abrahamse (1992) suggest that most inaccuracies occur at the bottom and the top end of the scale.

The other measure used in this study is the number of successful prosecutions on the offender's criminal record obtained from the Whanganui data base. The number of successful prosecutions was the number of times they have been involved in court proceedings for property crime. The number of convictions that occurred was also recorded. The conviction figure is a conservative estimate with only completed offences being counted and excluding the possession of instruments, possession of goods and dealing in stolen goods. Riley (1992) suggests that many of the Criminal Justice Records may be flawed, a rough figure being one in eight records having some kind of error. There were at least three criminal records which were not consistent with offender reports.

For those under sixteen, no official criminal record is available. However, if they had been a continual offender who had been through the Youth Court a number of times, this was recorded as their official record. Generally the information about this would

come from two sources, the participant and a social worker. The maximum number of times that anyone could go through the youth court was three times. There was also one youth on a two year sentence for armed robbery at Kingslea.

There were a few offenders who did not have an official record for property crime. Most of these were young and had gone through family group conferences, two participants who were on periodic detention had no official record. For those over sixteen, I could not trace records for two of the offenders. Overall, 129 out of the 141 participants were coded as having an official record. When using recidivism as a measure these twelve were left out but they were included in the race/recidivism groups in the interests of obtaining a comparable sample (many of the youths without a record were Maori).

Cultural Identity Questionnaire

Morgan (1991) created the cultural identity questionnaire because there was no short and simple inventory to measure ethnicity. In designing the questionnaire, Morgan used Thomas's (1988, Morgan 1991) elements of ethnicity which included self-perceived appearance, cultural identity, ethnic self-identity and ascribed identity. An item on cultural values and beliefs was also included. Instead of using a forced choice approach to describing ethnic groups, this inventory sort to maximise choices allowing for racial mix (e.g. Maori; Mostly Maori, part Pakeha; Both Maori and Pakeha; Mostly Pakeha, part Maori; Pakeha; and, other) .

No psychometric properties of this inventory had previously been calculated. Morgan had too few Maori to perform such statistics. Using the whole sample (n=141), an alpha of .91 was calculated. There was a core group of Pakeha (N=84, 59% of the sample) who answered Pakeha consistently to all five questions on the ethnicity questionnaire.

The question of validity is not as simply answered as that of reliability. Following in Morgan's footsteps, participants were allowed to interpret items for themselves. For the questions on values and lifestyles, there was some difficulty for offenders in deciding what was meant by a Maori lifestyle and values. For lifestyle this could be interpreted as a positive acceptance of Maori culture, it might be a rejection of the predominant Pakeha culture and, for others, it might be as simple as the colour of their friends skin. In suggesting an interpretation of values, participants who were confused were asked to consider where their values came from. Some participants could see no difference in values and they answered both Maori and Pakeha. Some consideration should also be given to how the context of this study may distort answers. Maori may not desire to label their values as Maori in the context of a study about crime.

In being cautious about what this cultural identity questionnaire measured, the item on labelling themselves was used to gain a split for considering race with recidivism and race with lambda. To gain a large enough Maori group, those who considered themselves as Maori, Mostly Maori or Both Maori and Pakeha were labelled Maori.

Those who labelled themselves as Pakeha or Mostly Pakeha were labelled Pakeha.

For the race/recidivism groups Maori and Pakeha were divided again by the number of prosecution (four or less, more than four). All participants were included, even if the number of prosecutions recorded was zero, since a number of young Maori had not reached the age of sixteen when they would gain an official record. The correlations between these race/recidivism groups and the ethnicity measure showed that the latter was measuring something distinct from how people labelled themselves. For the Maori low r (17)= -.56, $p<.01$ and high recidivism group r (20)= -.62, $p<.01$ the correlations were higher than they were for the Pakeha recidivism groups, r (55)= .40, $p<.01$ and r (45)= .42, $p<.01$.

For the race/lambda groups Maori and Pakeha were divided again by the number of self-reported offences over the past year (thirty six or less, more than thirty six). The lambda groups showed a similar relationship to ethnicity as the recidivism groups.

Sample Description

Overall, 141 male offenders participated in this study. The sample is slanted towards persistent offenders with 53% of the sample having more than 4 successful prosecutions for property offending and 54% of the sample having more than 8 convictions for property offences. This averaged out at two convictions for every successful prosecution. Three offenders had more than twenty five successful prosecutions, the highest number recorded was twenty nine. The mean age of the sample was 21.2 years.

Seventy one percent (n=100) of the sample labelled themselves as Pakeha (i.e. Pakeha, Mostly Pakeha), 26% (n=37) of the sample labelled themselves as Maori (i.e. Maori, mostly Maori or both Maori and Pakeha), and 3% (n=4) labelled themselves as other. These four who considered themselves as 'other' were Pacific Islanders. Using the same criteria for Maori (i.e. Maori, mostly Maori or both Maori and Pakeha), 35% (n=49) considered their physical appearance to be Maori[1] , 27% (n=38) considered their values to be Maori, 20% (n=28) considered their lifestyle to be Maori[2] , and 31% (n=44) considered that other people would label them as Maori.

The numbers obtained in each of the groups outlined in the method were 21 (group 1), 25 (group 2), 31 (group3), 33 (group 4)

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[1] The Pacific Islanders were inclined to consider their physical appearance as Maori.

[2] This included some pakeha who saw their lifestyle as having Maori aspects and some Pakeha who saw no differences between Maori and Pakeha lifestyle and values.

and 31 (group 5). On looking at the age and recidivism mix (table 3.1), group five (over twenty four years old) had by far the largest number of successful prosecutions against them. The medium was 16 prosecutions. Group 4 was clearly distinct from the other two groups in the 18 to 24 age range with a medium number of eight prosecutions. However group 4 was not distinct from the group obtained from community based sentences with both groups medium number of cases being 3. It was difficult to ascertain how much offending was on the official records of youth (<17 years old) and so prosecutions for group 1 was left undetermined. The number of convictions showed a similar pattern as prosecutions (table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Medium number of prosecutions and convictions by group.

Group	1	2	3	4	5
Prosecutions	-	3	3	8	16
Convictions	-	5	6	16	26

A majority of the sample had a burglary as part of there latest prosecution (n=76, 54%). The rest of the sample are divided amongst car theft (n=22, 16%), theft (n=14, 10%), armed robbery (n=13, 9%), fraud (n=7, 5%), robbery (n=4, 3%) and shoplifting (n=3, 2%). About three quarters of the study (74%) self-reported involvement in burglary in the year before their latest conviction, most of which was undetected.

Eighty one percent (n=114) of the sample reported being unemployed at the time they committed the offence. Ten were still at school. In the past participants reported their employment history as :never being employed (n=13, 9%), usually unemployed (n=37,26%);,used to have regular employment but little employment recently (n=10, 7%); about half and half employment to unemployment (n= 33, 23%); and, 28% said they more often than not had regular employment or were self-employed.

Half the sample had less than two years of high school (n=71), twenty nine percent (n=41) had more than two years high school but no qualifications, eleven percent had at least one subject school certificate (n=16) and a small minority had a trade qualification or something higher than school certificate (7%). Only one Maori, out of the thirty seven who labelled themselves Maori, had obtained a pass in school certificate and none had any higher qualification.

At the time of committing their most recent offence, the majority were either flatting or living with a wife or defacto (60%). There was a substantial minority with no fixed abode (13%), a further six (4%) were living on the streets. Sixty percent of the sample (including the young age group) did not have a steady relationship at the time of committing the offence. Sixty five percent of the sample did not have children. Of those who had children, seventy percent (n=35) were living with them at the time of committing the offence. Nine percent of the participants (n=13) were expecting a child at time they committed the offence, 11 out of these thirteen were Pakeha.

Results.

The results are divided into five sections. The first section concentrates on involvement. Frequencies of responses for the involvement questionnaire as well as the open-ended questions on involvement are shown. Four factors were extracted using factor analysis. These factors and individual items from the involvement questionnaire were compared with recidivism, lambda and the affectometer. The second section focuses on desistence looking at the questionnaire and the open-ended questions on what is important for offenders in considering whether to desist. Frequencies of response are shown, four factors were extracted using factor analysis and correlated with recidivism, lambda, and, the affectometer (Kammann & Flett, 1983). Variance of specific desistence items with recidivism and lambda is considered. The third section considers the adolescent part of the sample and looks at differences found between: 1) those who have had minimal contact with the law and repeat offenders; and 2) those who have high (above 36) or low lambda scores. The fourth section looks at ethnic differences showing the relationship of involvement and desistence (factors and individual items) with ethnicity, an ethnic/recidivism mix and an ethnic/lambda mix. The fifth section shows the relationship between the involvement and desistence questionnaires.

4.1 *INVOLVEMENT RESULTS*

Frequencies of Responses from the Involvement Questionnaire

This section gives an impression of what items were self-reported to be important or unimportant for getting involved in property offending. The sample is slanted towards persistent offenders, an important point to consider in looking at these frequencies.
Table 4.1 shows the ten most common items considered important for involvement in property offending. It gives the frequencies and percentages of respondents who answered in the affirmative (i.e. important to extremely important).

Table 4.1: The ten items most frequently considered important for involvement.

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
99	70%	temptation
93	66%	ability
92	65%	plans
92	65%	difficulty getting work
89	63%	just do it (singular)
88	62%	no other way
85	60%	buyer
85	60%	not considering consequences
85	60%	checking risk
84	60%	trusting others

The impression gained from these results is that most participants find it difficult getting work, they had no other way of getting money, their actions were seen as spontaneous (temptation, just do it (sing.)) but that they were safe from detection

(trusting others, ability, not considering consequences) and organised (plans, buyer, checking risk).

Overall, out of the 50 items on the questionnaire, 23 were considered as being important by more than 50% of the participants (see appendix 9, table 6.1).

Table 4.2: The ten items most infrequently considered for involvement

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
25	18%	appearances
28	20%	good stories
33	23%	family needs
32	23%	victim deserving it
34	24%	achievement
36	25%	drink/drugs for courage
36	25%	best way
40	28%	peer influence
43	30%	not affecting victim
44	31%	upset

Table 4.2 lists the ten items that were less frequently considered important for involvement in property crime, but nevertheless considered as contributing to involvement by a substantial proportion of the participants. Some of these items were considered too trivial for getting involved in crime (i.e. having good stories, appearances) although sometimes having good stories was considered a handy by-product. The question on whether "the mates wanted you to" (peer influence) did not capture all aspects of peer pressure. A number of subjects answered that they took responsibility for their own actions but found group dynamics powerful forces on

their behaviour. Other items on peers were commitment (52%) and trusting others (60%), which showed higher frequencies.

A minority of participants felt that the victim deserved being stolen from. This reflected the nature of the relationship between victim and offender with the majority of those who felt the victim 'deserved it' knowing the victim. Without collecting any specific data on this group, they appeared to be those without a record but who had gone to prison because the property crime accompanied a violent crime.

Looking at the question on the perceived effects on victims, there was no clear majority. Forty percent did not think about the victim , 30% reported that the effects on the victim were unimportant and another 30% thought about the effects on the victim and some expressed a desire to minimalise these effects. The substantial minority (30%) who reported that the affects on the victim were unimportant were, to some extent, made up of those who knew the victim and felt that the victim deserved it.

The other infrequently mentioned items are: Using drink/drugs for courage; family needs and best way. How the items that were infrequently considered important are divided into 'didn't apply/didn't think about it' or 'unimportant' is shown in appendix 9, table 6.2

The Open-ended Questions

Two open-ended questions were included to check whether the questionnaire adequately covers reasons for involvement from the offenders perspective. The first question that was asked was "Why did you get involved in the most recent property offence with which you have been convicted?" This sort to gauge spontaneous reasons offered for offending. The second open-ended question occurred after the involvement questionnaire and asked what the most important reasons were. The important reasons for involvement sort to gauge the main motivating factors for offending.

Overall, the initial question of why and the important reasons for involvement question were answered in a similar manner. Differences appeared in the frequency of answers rather than in the items mentioned. Lower numbers responded to the "why" question than to the important reasons for involvement question (see appendix 9 table6.3). The important reasons for involvement question occurred after the involvement questionnaire, thus reasons may have been more salient and any initial shyness over. Also there was space for three answers to be coded instead of two for the "why" question.

The results for the important reasons for involvement (shown in table 4.3) contrast with the frequencies of responses on the involvement questionnaire. The frequencies reported on the involvement questionnaire show a more situational approach to

crime while considering planning and being able to met financial[1] and social[2] needs through crime. The emphasis for the open-ended questions, although it included the financial benefits of crime (wanting money, money for bills, material gains), it also emphasises the role of drugs or alcohol, stress, excitement and peer pressure . From the involvement questionnaire, alcohol and drugs (wanting money for drugs 44%, being drunk or 'out of it' 40%) applied to a substantial minority, not to offenders 'in general'.

Table 4.3: Important reasons for involvement in property crime (n=140)

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
39	28%	for money
38	27%	for drugs and/or alcohol
23	16%	stress
21	15%	for bills
18	13%	being drunk or 'out of it'
18	13%	excitement
18	13%	peer pressure
17	12%	temptation
13	9%	material gains
12	8%	lifestyle

Involvement Factors

In considering whether to consider the measurement scale as categorical or continuous, a number of factor analyses were performed. The clearest conception of constructs emerged when the 'didn't know/ didn't think

[1] things for self 59%, financial gains 57%, financial choice 50%, potential gains 48% and for bills 48%
[2] for a good time 56%, social life 53%

about it' answers were included at the bottom of the likert scale. This applied for both the involvement and desistence questionnaires. The didn't know/ didn't think about it alternative is seen as being an option to the unimportant end of likert scale. However, the use of these items does not necessarily make the scale a measurement of single construct "importance" and can sometimes produce a non-linear relationship (e.g. not thinking about the victim is different from seeing the affects on the victim as unimportant or important). The advantage of having a didn't know/ didn't think about it option is that this may provide a more socially acceptable answer than saying that an item was unimportant. It made these options conceptually clear. In defining unimportant if only one scale was used, these other options would have needed to be clearly explicated.

Factors were extracted from the involvement questionnaire using a principal component analysis with an orthogonal rotation. From this sixteen factors emerged with an eigenvalue greater than one accounting for 69% of the variance. Four factors are postulated as the clearest construction of factors and there appeared to be a flattening out of the eigenvalues at this point (see appendix 9, table 6.4 and 6.5 for eigenvalues and factor loadings). These factors appeared meaningful and were labelled Criminal Choice (eigenvalue= 9.5), Compulsion (eigenvalue= 3.2), Situational Response (eigenvalue= 3.0), and Planning (eigenvalue=2.2). The high initial eigenvalue suggests that there was a tendency for the questionnaire to be answered in a similar manner.

Table 4.4: The involvement factors.	
Criminal Choice (α=.87)	**Compulsion (α=.81)**
financial choice	excitement
best way	difficulty stopping (singular)
easy way	difficulty stopping (plural)
alternative to work	just do it (plural)
no other way	temptation
financial gains	trusting others
potential gains	things for self
for woman	beating the system
for drugs or alcohol	appearances
for a good time	good stories
social life	ability
cash	
buyer	
supplying	
Situational (α=.69)	**Planning (α=.59)**
situation	checking risk
unhappy	plans
upset	not using drink/ drugs for courage
for bills	not being drunk or 'out of it'
family needs	not affecting victim
redistributing wealth	
people lacking honesty	
society being unjust	
not having anything	

Items which loaded on to factors with a value above .4 are listed in table 4.4. The Criminal Choice factor offers a base for hypothesis 1, with most items relating to crime as a viable alternative and other options being unavailable loading onto this factor (best way, easy way, financial choice, no other way and alternative to work). The exception was difficult to get work

which did not load onto situational response adequately. The emphasis for this criminal choice seems to be the financial gains and the desire to have money for a 'good life' (for a good time, for alcohol/drugs, for woman, financial gains, potential gains). Items to do with money that do not load onto this factor are 'for bills' and 'things for self'. The 'social life' item also appears as a part of the criminal choice. Note that the items to do with gaining financial returns (buyer, supplying, and cash) load onto this factor and not onto the planning factor.

The Compulsion factor supports hypothesis 3, the items to do the difficulty stopping occurring with excitement. It appears that compulsive property offending has more to do with positive emotional experiences than negative. The negative affect items loaded onto the situational factor, this included boredom which was just below the cut-off point (see appendix 9, table 6.5). Items to do with spontaneity (temptation, just doing it (plural), not considering consequences, trusting others, things for self) and considering the odds on winning from crime (beating the system) inter-relate with confidence in committing crime (ability). The difficulty stopping items measure different constructs $r\,(141)=.52$, the plural item more clearly differentiating the high lambda groups from the low lambda groups (see appendix 9, table 6.9). Also items to do with social interaction (good stories, appearances) loaded onto the compulsion factor.

The situational response appears as a factor which can be contrasted with having made a criminal choice. Items that have loaded onto this factor consider meeting social responsibilities (for bills, family needs), the items to do with negative affect (unhappy, upset), as well as those items to do with social disillusionment (unjust society, redistributing wealth, people lacking honesty) and their present situation (not having anything).

The planning factor shows that prior planning can be separated from the reasons for involvement, giving support to hypothesis 9. Items to do with planning (plans, checking risk) are accompanied by being careful with alcohol (not being drunk or 'out of it', not using alcohol/ drugs for courage) as well as the possibility that this group is more careful about their selection of targets so that the victim is not hurt.

The internal reliability (alpha) of the involvement factors are shown on table 4.4. Internal reliability factors are generally considered adequate if they are over .7, because correlations with such scales are not unduly attenuated with measurement error. Using this criteria, the positive choice (α=.87) and Compulsion factor (α=.81) show good reliability, the situational factor (α=.69) is adequate, and the planning factor is marginal (α=.59). However, all items on the planning factor correlate with the factor above .3 suggesting that the low alpha is to some extent a reflection of the small number of items loading onto this factor as well as there being the possibility that other items may explain this concept better.

Table 4.5: Correlations among the involvement factors.				
Factors	Criminal choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
Criminal Choice	1.00			
Compulsion	.63**	1.00		
Situational Response	.30**	.27**	1.00	
Planning	.27**	.30**	.07	1.00

**p<.01 *p<.05

The inter-correlations among the involvement factors are shown in table 4.5. The results show significant correlations between most of the factors, the exception being between the situational response and planning. The other correlations show that the various factors are, to some extent, related. The degree to which they are inter-correlated reflects the likelihood that they may appear together in the same offender. The most positive correlation is between criminal choice and compulsion factor r (141)=.63, p<.01. Situational response correlates slightly higher with criminal choice than compulsion while planning correlates slightly higher with compulsion than criminal choice.

Excitement

For those who participated in this study, 52% did not find property crime exciting. Of those who did find it exciting, the most common response was that they found it exciting during the event and that

this excitement lasted for about five minutes (n=26, 38% of those responding positively). When the Compulsion factor emerged from the factor analysis, it appeared interesting to see whether this relatively small excitement time would correlate significantly with this factor. Although this approached significance, the clearer trend was for the correlations between excitement time and the compulsion factor to increase with increasing excitement times (see appendix 9, table 6.6). For those reporting more than two hours excitement, the relationship was significant.

For many, excitement occurred during the crime (16%). For those reporting longer excitement times, this more commonly involved experiencing excitement during and after the event (13%) rather than after (9%) or before, during and after (6%).

Table 4.6: Correlations between the involvement factors and recidivism.

Prosecutions (P) Factors	one (n=18)	two to four (n=37)	five to eight (n=34)	nine to twelve (n=12)	greater than twelve (n=21)
Criminal Choice	-.18*	-.19*	.01	.15	.28**
Compulsion	-.19*	-.13	-.01	.10	.22**
Situational Response	.05	-.17*	-.02	-.02	.26**
Planning	-.05	-.19*	.01	.05	.15

**p<.01 *p<.05

Involvement and Recidivism.

The correlations between the involvement factors and recidivism are shown in Table 4.6. Recidivism refers to the number of successful prosecutions that the offender has. Table 4.6 shows significant negative correlations in the low recidivism groups and increasingly positive correlations as recidivism increases for criminal choice and compulsion factors. The planning factor showed a similar pattern with recidivism as the criminal choice and compulsion factors, a negative relationship for low recidivism and increasing positive relationship as recidivism increases although this does not reach significance. The situational factor shows a positive relationship at both ends of the spectrum of recidivism, the relationship with the high recidivism group being significant. Negative correlations occurred for the middle recidivism groups. Overall, these results suggest that the three main involvement factors (criminal choice, compulsion and situational response) show a propensity or vulnerability towards property crime. Thus hypothesis 5, which suggested that infrequent offenders could be distinguished from persistent offenders because they were responding to a situation, is not supported by this result, the make-up of this factor was not as envisaged.

Consideration was given to the question of whether combining these rationales may have an accumulative effect, increasing the strength of the relationship found with the highest recidivism group. The correlations found with combinations of factors were higher than those found by factors separately, the highest

correlation occurring when situational response and criminal choice was combined. The correlations found with the highest recidivism group were:

1) criminal choice and compulsion $r\,(141)=.28$, $p<.01$;

2) criminal choice and situational response $r\,(141)=.33$, $p<.01$;

3) compulsion and situational response $r\,(141)=.30$, $p<.01$;

4) criminal choice, compulsion and situation response $r\,(141)=.32$, $p<.01$. These results suggest that the occurrence of these rationales together relates more strongly to recidivism than the occurrence of rationales separately.

Significant relationships between items on the involvement questionnaire and recidivism are shown in appendix 9, table 6.7. It shows significant differences found by analysis of variance and a tukey test was performed to look for differences between groups. The high mean group(s) are those that found this item as more important for involvement in property crime than the low mean group(s). These differences are significant at the .05 level.

For both the criminal choice and the compulsion factor, the significant relationships seem to expose the skeleton of these factors. Criminal choice items show that this is definitely a choice that criminals have made (best way, financial choice, alternative to work, easy way). Note that the item for potential gains appears and not the item on financial gains received. The other items that appear are 'cash' and 'supplying'.

The compulsion items that appear are those to do with the core of this construct, compulsion (difficulty stopping (sing. & pl.),

just do it (pl.)). Items that appeared from the situational response factor were the situation and unjust society. The other items that appeared were: plans; appearance; and, achievement (the analysis of variance was not significant, the tukey test found a difference between groups).

The tukey tests on these items showed the same directional pattern, higher recidivism groups considered these items significantly more important than lower recidivism groups. The exception to this was the 'situation' item where the lowest recidivism group had the highest mean score but did not contrast significantly with the other groups.

Table 4.7: Correlations between involvement factors and self-reported frequency of offending (Lambda λ).

Lambda / Factors	Lambda1 (λ <5) (n=35)	Lambda2 (4>λ<37) (n=35)	Lambda3 (36>λ<175) and not λ coded 99 (n=32)	Lambda4 (λ >175) & λ coded 99 (n=39)
Criminal choice	-.40**	-.16	.23*	.33**
Compulsion	-.48**	-.05	.13	.40**
Situational Response	-.11	.06	.06	-.01
Planning	.01	-.01	.05	-.05

**p<.01 *p<.05

Involvement and Lambda (λ)

The frequency of offending is measured as the amount of self-reported offending that occurred over the past year (lambda). Lambda seemed to be spread reasonable evenly across the recidivism groups with the medium to high groups being slightly over represented. An analysis of variance showed no significant differences in lambda as recidivism increased $F(4,124)=1.4$, n.s. There were some differences in the types of crimes that different age groups reported high rates of offending in. Looking at those reporting more than a hundred offences in any of the six crime categories (see appendix 9, table 6.8), the number of younger offenders (under twenty) were over represented in the car theft and robbery categories. The older offenders (over twenty) were over-represented in the 'other' category (something worth more than $20 previously uncounted), mostly this was fraud.

Looking at the relationship between self-reported lambda and the involvement factors in table 4.7, negative correlations occur for the low lambda group and positive correlations occur in the high lambda groups for both criminal choice and compulsion. The compulsion factor had a larger correlation for the high lambda group while criminal choice correlated significantly with the two top lambda groups. These results show that compulsion and criminal choice are strongly related to lambda, whereas the situational response and planning is not.

Significant differences found between individual items in the involvement questionnaire and lambda are shown in appendix 9,

table 6.9. A tukey test was performed to look for differences between the lambda groups showing significance at the .05 level. The high mean group(s) are those that found the involvement item significantly more important for involvement in property crime than the low mean group(s).

Virtually all the criminal choice and compulsion items are present in table 6.9 (exceptions are: for women, not having anything, trusting others), a notable difference to the recidivism results. This stronger relationship between criminal choice, compulsion and lambda is also indicated by the stronger correlations found in table 4.7. The few items that come from outside the criminal choice and compulsion factors are: drink/drugs for courage; difficult getting work; boredom; and, appearance. For most of these items, the tukey tests showed the high lambda groups considering the items as more important than the lower lambda group. The exception being 'drink/drugs for courage' which was significantly more important for those who had a low frequency of offending (λ <5).

Even though both criminal choice and compulsion both strongly correlated with lambda, combining these two factors together did not increase the strength of this relationship r (141)=.39, p<.01.

Considering the accumulative effects of recidivism and lambda

Even though there was no relationship found between recidivism and lambda, it is still possible that when the two measures were combined, they

may have had an accumulate effect. It was decided to form two groups to see whether this was possible: 1) high recidivism (P > 8), high lambda ($\lambda > 175$), n=20; 2) low recidivism (P < 5), low lambda ($\lambda < 5$), (n=21).

Table 4.8: Correlations between the involvement factors and high recidivism/high lambda and low recidivism/low lambda groups.

Factors	Criminal choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
High R & L (n=20)	.30**	.25**	.11	.17*
Low R & L (n=21)	-.35**	-.40**	-.21*	.00

**p<.01 *p<.05

The results found in table 4.8 show that there was more of an evening out of the correlations for these groups, most of the results produced came part way between the lambda and recidivism results. For criminal choice, compulsion, and the situational response, there was no evidence of an accumulative effect. The exception to this being was the planning factor which produced a significant result when lambda and recidivism were combined but nothing significant when lambda and recidivism were considered separately.

In consideration of the fact that there are few items which are more important for the low recidivism groups and the low lambda groups, consideration was given to whether any might appear when these two measurements of offending were combined. In comparing the low recidivism/ low lambda group with high recidivism/high lambda group,

no significant results were found which went in the direction of the low rate offenders.

Table 4.9: Correlations between the involvement factors and the affectometer.

Factors	Criminal Choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
Affectometer	.06	.17*	.30**	.03
Confluence	-.20*	-.01	.02	-.01
Optimism	-.06	.06	.16	.03
Self Esteem	.16	.24**	.24**	.00
Self Efficacy	-.03	-.01	.17*	-.04
Social Support	-.12	-.03	.17*	.01
Social Interest	.10	.11	.26**	.09
Freedom	.16	.14	.06	-.05
Energy	.15	.21*	.02	.07
Cheerfulness	.05	.07	.13	-.08
Thought clarity	.06	.01	.14	- .03

**p<.01 *p<.05

Involvement and Wellbeing

To gain a rounded perspective on the involvement factors, correlations with the affectometer are shown. The correlations with the whole scale as well as the 10 qualities of happiness that make up this scale are shown in table 4.9.

Criminal choice shows a significant negative correlation with confluence suggesting that those who have made a criminal choice do not consider that there life is on the right track. Other items which approach significance for the criminal choice factor are freedom energy and self esteem. Overall, criminal choice shows a small positive correlation with the affectometer scale r (141)=.06, n.s.

For compulsion the significant correlations occurred for self esteem and energy. Compulsion correlated positively with the affectometer. The situational response showed positive correlations with all ten qualities of happiness with self esteem, self efficacy, social support, and, social interest being significant. This was reflected in the strong positive correlation between the situational response and the affectometer r (141)=.30, $p<.01$.

Planning showed only small correlations with all ten happiness measures. This was reflected in the small positive correlation with the affectometer r (141)=.03, n.s.

Because of the intriguing results finding such a positive correlation between the affectometer and situational response, it was decided to look at the individual items on the involvement questionnaire and ten qualities of wellbeing from the affectometer (see appendix 9, table 6.10 for significant correlations). In line with the positive correlation found for the situational response, many of the items from this also showed positive correlations. Surprisingly, 'unhappy' positively correlated with optimism, self-esteem, social interest and thought clarity. Other items which

showed positive correlations were the 'situation' with social support, 'for bills' with self efficacy, 'not having anything' with self esteem, and items to do with social comparison correlating positively with social interest (unjust society and people lacking honesty) and cheerfulness (people lacking honesty). There was a significant negative correlation occurring between energy and 'family needs'. Overall, 'family needs' did not correlate negatively with the affectometer r (141)=.03, n.s.

The other main area of interest was that of self-esteem. The three main involvement factors show a positive relationship with self-esteem, situational response and compulsion being significant while criminal choice approached significance. The items from criminal choice which positively correlated with self esteem were 'no other way' and 'easy way'. The items from the compulsion factor which correlate significantly with self-esteem were: ability; beating the system; and, difficulty stopping (sing and pl.). The items from the situational response factor which correlated with self esteem were 'not having anything' and feeling 'unhappy'.

Looking at individual items may also point out specific vulnerabilities. Wanting money 'for drugs/alcohol' and 'for a good time' correlated negatively with social support. Commitment correlated positively with social interest.

From the planning factor 'plans' correlated significantly with social interest.

4.2 *DESISTENCE RESULTS*

Frequencies of Responses from the Desistence Questionnaire

This section gives an impression of what items were frequently or infrequently considered important for desisting from property crime by offenders. Table 4.10 shows the frequency or responses answered in the affirmative (i.e. important to extremely important) by more than 60% of participants.

Table 4.10: Potential influences on desistence.

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
120	86%	employment
116	83%	losing family
116	83%	family support
114	81%	loss of freedom
113	81%	managing debt
100	71%	interfering with other goals
100	71%	getting caught
100	71%	long term considerations
98	70%	not trusting others
97	69%	friends support
96	68%	punishment
94	67%	separation from family
94	67%	secrecy
94	67%	family disapproval

Seventeen of the twenty five items on the desistence questionnaire were considered to be important by over 50% of the participants, fourteen items were considered important by over 60% of the participants. This reflects both the extent of the prosocial forces and the demand characteristics of asking why someone would give up crime. Although it is socially desirable to answer in the affirmative to these questions, they

also reflect real life concerns and there was a tendency for participants to use the top end of the scale. Many participants noted that they were not just important but extremely important.

Consideration of the importance of the reasons for desistence gives an indication of the desire of offenders to be able to meet their needs (i.e. employment and managing debt) and the influence of the family as a prosocial force (losing family, family support, separation from family and, family disapproval). Friends were also seen as a possible source of support. Other frequently mentioned items could be loosely categorised as deterrents (loss of freedom, interfering with other goals, getting caught, long term considerations, not trusting others, punishment, secrecy, police, being labelled and, prison).

The items whose frequency was lower than 50% also tended to show substantial numbers considering the items important. These items were: system support (48%); hurting victim (47%); financially unrewarding (45%); feeling tension (43%); losing friends (40%); getting ripped off (37%); cultural pride (29%); and, parental response (26%). Parental response was more applicable to the younger participants. The cultural pride question was answered in the affirmative by some Pakeha (n=16) as well as Maori (n=25) and is not purely a reflection of the 26% (n=37) of the sample who label themselves Maori.

For the question asking if anything important had been left off the questionnaire, answers given were: staying off drugs (20%), shame (17%), having something to do (13%) and support from the system (8%). Having support from the system was a mixture of having more financial support, being allowed on methadone programs, or just not receiving

support for particular problems (e.g. a pain problem) and is contrasted with receiving support from social workers or probation officers (an item on the desistence questionnaire).

Open-Ended Questions

Two open-ended questions related to desisting from crime were included. These questions looked at the hassles involved in property crime and the important reasons for desistence with three answers being sought for each question.

Table 4.11: Hassles with crime (n=137)

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
63	46%	getting caught
42	32%	punishment
29	21%	stress on family
24	18%	police
23	17%	not trusting others
18	13%	shame
18	13%	being labelled
17	12%	hassles with crime (e.g. dogs, locks, finding a target.)
7	5%	prison

The hassles mentioned with crime are shown in table 4.11. Considering that participants had been caught for their crime, it follows that being caught and punished are frequently sited hassles experienced. Other hassles included those that would be a consideration in being able to successfully commit crime (police, not trusting others, and, hassles such as finding suitable targets). Labelling, prison, shame and consideration of the stress on the family were also hassles considered.

The question on the important reasons considered for desistence (table 4.12) includes positive coping (e.g. employment, managing debt, and, getting skills), changing negative influences (staying off drugs/alcohol, changing associates), punishment, support from system and family considerations (stress on family, losing family).

Table 4.12: The most important reasons given for desisting.

Frequency	Percentage of sample	Item
59	44%	employment
56	40%	stress on family
30	22%	staying off drugs/alcohol
29	22%	changing associates
19	14%	punishment
17	12%	getting skills
15	11%	managing debt
15	11%	support from system (assistance with problems, financial support)
9	7%	losing family

The open-ended questions (the hassles and the important reasons for desistence) differed from the desistence questionnaire with the inclusion of items on drugs and shame. Also, the emphasis in the open-ended questions is on the costs to families and girlfriends rather than the support and disapproval items found in the desistence questionnaire. The family mentioned was very seldom the family of origin. Instead, the impression gained was that wives and girlfriends were important and this applied even for the younger members of this sample.

Desistence Factors

A principal component analysis was used to extract factors, with an orthogonal rotation. From this eight factors emerged with an eigenvalue greater than one accounting for 61% of the variance. Deciding on what would be a valid and useful split into factors was difficult because of a high initial eigenvalue (6.19) and how the eigenvalues declined sharply after this (see appendix 10, table 6.11). This suggested that participants had answered the questionnaire in a similar manner. Initially the questionnaire was factor analysed into two factors which were labelled composite and crime hassles (See table 4.13). The composite factor appeared as a mixture of social bonding factors and those typical labelled deterrents (e.g. getting caught and punishment) while the crime hassles involved those things that make crime impractical.

The possibility of splitting this questionnaire further was considered because of the tendency for items to be considered important narrowed the range over which answers were given (important to extremely important). There seemed to be a clearly distinguishable difference in emotional tone between the important and extremely important ratings. After exploring the meaningfulness of factors by factor analysing a range of factor numbers (3,4,5,6), it was decided that four factors was the clearest, most meaningful and reliable construction of factors. These factors were labelled: Bonding and Coping, Social Disapproval, Deterrence and Crime Hassles.

The first three items show a split of the composite factor while crime hassles remained virtually unchanged[3]. This differentiation of factors

[3] When there was a two way split staying out of debt loaded onto crime hassles.

offered the opportunity to explore the hypotheses proposed for this study. Items which loaded on to factors with a value above .4 and correlating with the factor above .3 are listed in table 4.13. Item loadings are shown in appendix 10, table 6.12.

Table 4.13: The desistence factors.	
Composite factor (α=.86)	**Bonding and Coping(α=.76)**
interfering with other goals	losing family
punishment	family support
family disapproval	separation from family
family support	loss of freedom
losing family	employment
loss of freedom	managing debt
getting caught	
prison	**Social Disapproval (α=.75)**
hurting the victim	family disapproval
separation from family	parental response
long term considerations	hurting the victim
distancing of friends	system support
system support	interfering with other goals
being labelled	losing friends
parental response	prison
friends support	
tension	
Crime Hassles (α=.62)	**Deterrence (α=.67)**
police	punishment from Justice System
getting ripped off	being labelled
secrecy	getting caught
not trusting others	long term considerations
financially unrewarding	

Bonding and coping shows the importance of family (losing family, separation from family, family support) with item on loss of freedom also reflecting the desire to not be separated from their family. The coping

items (employment, managing debt) accompanied these bonding items. This factor shows good internal reliability (α=.76).

Social disapproval shows items to do with disapproval (family disapproval, parental response, losing friends), the willingness to receive feedback about their behaviour (system support), awareness of the victim (hurting victim), not fitting in with the delinquent peer group (prison) and how criminal behaviour may interfere with achieving other goals presumably because of social disapproval. This factor shows good internal reliability (α=.75).

Deterrence shows all the items which are traditionally associated with this term (getting caught, punishment, being labelled) as well as being able to consider long term negative consequences (long term considerations). The internal reliability of this factor is adequate (α=.67).

Table 4.14: Correlations among the desistence factors.

Factors	Composite	Bonding & Coping	Social Disapproval	Deterrence
Composite	1.00			
Bonding and coping	.80**	1.00		
Social Disapproval	.87**	.54**	1.00	
Deterrence	.79**	.55**	.51**	1.00
Crime Hassles	.34**	.31**	.25**	.28**

**p<.01 *p<.05

Crime hassles is made up of items to do with immediate financial feedback (getting ripped off, financially unrewarding) as well as difficulties with

getting away with crime (police, secrecy, not trusting others). The internal reliability of this factor is marginal (α=.62) although all items did correlate with the factor above .3.

The inter-correlations among the desistence factors are shown in table 4.14. The composite factor was included to show the relationship with it's 'parts'. Not surprisingly, since bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence are made from items in the composite factor they all showed a strong relationship with the composite factor. The strongest correlation occurs for the social disapproval factor. 'Bonding and coping' and deterrence also show correlations in the .8 zone which suggests that nothing can be learned from the composite factor that is not explained by separating it into three factors.

The high inter-correlations between bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence show that they often occur together (about 50% of the time) but that they can also be considered separately. The correlation of these three factors with crime hassles is more moderate.

Table 4.15: Correlations between the desistence factors and recidivism.

Successful Prosecutions Factors	one (n=18)	two to four (n=37)	five to eight (n=34)	nine to twelve (n=12)	greater than twelve (n=21)
Bonding and Coping	-.04	.06	-.01	-.05	.09
Social Disapproval	-.02	.06	-.03	.00	.08
Deterrence	.07	.12	.01	-.03	-.08
Crime Hassles	-.17*	.06	.04	.01	.08

**p<.01 *p<.05

Desistence and Recidivism

Table 4.15 shows the relationship between desistence and recidivism. Not much of a relationship was found between the reasons given for desistence and amount of officially recorded offending. In line with hypothesis 11, 'bonding and coping' and 'social disapproval' showed no relationship with recidivism, only small correlations occurring. Hypothesis 13 which suggested that crime hassles would be a consideration of persistent offenders is not entirely supported by these results. Instead, those low in recidivism tend to not consider crime hassles. Hypothesis 14 which considered justice system deterrents as more important for those who have not become seriously involved in crime is not supported by a significant result. The deterrence factor shows positive correlations for the low recidivism groups and negative correlations for the high recidivism groups but these were not significant.

In a similar vein to the desistence factors showing little relationship to recidivism, only a few desistence items were significant. Police differed with recidivism $F(4,124)=3.4$, $p<.01$ and a tukey test found that the high recidivism group ($P>12$) and the medium recidivism group ($4>P<9$) considered this as a more important reason for desistence than the low recidivism group ($P=1$). Being labelled also significantly differed with recidivism $F(4,124)=2.7$, $p<.05$. The tukey test revealed no significant differences between groups but being labelled was more of a consideration for those low on recidivism. Many of those who had a number of convictions expressed the view that they were already labelled.

Table 4.16: Correlations between desistence factors and self-reported frequency of offending (Lambda λ).				
Lambda Factors	Lambda1 (λ <5) (n=35)	Lambda2 (4< λ <37) (n=35)	Lambda3 (36>λ<175) and not λ coded 99 (n=32)	Lambda4 (λ >175) & λ coded 99 (n=39)
Bonding and Coping	.08	.05	-.12	-.01
Social Disapproval	.18*	.07	-.07	-.18*
Deterrence	.12	.09	-.06	-.14
Crime Hassles	-.13	-.06	.03	.15

**p<.01 *p<.05

Desistence and Lambda

The results for desistence and lambda shown in table 4.16 show the first three factors (bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence) having a positive relationship with the low lambda groups and a negative relationship with the high lambda groups. Social disapproval was the strongest in this tendency and significant correlations occurred for the low lambda group and the high lambda group. Crime hassles produces negative correlations with the low lambda groups and a positive relationship with the high lambda groups, a reverse of the trend found for the three other desistence factors.

For the individual desistence items the following were found to significantly differ with lambda: family disapproval $F(3,137)=3.2$, $p<.05$; losing friends $F(3,137)=2.6$,$p<.05$; hurting the victim $F(3,137)=3.0$, $p<.05$; and, prison $F(3,137)=2.6$,$p<.05$. For the items mentioned, those

low in lambda considered these as more important, and this was significant for 'family disapproval'.

Considering the accumulative effects of recidivism and lambda

In considering whether there was an accumulative effect created by combining lambda and recidivism together, two groups were formed:
1) high recidivism (P > 8), high lambda ($\lambda > 175$), n=20;
2) low recidivism (P < 5), low lambda ($\lambda < 5$), (n=21).

Table 4.17: Correlations between the desistence factors and high recidivism/high lambda and low recidivism/low lambda groups.

Factors	Bonding and Coping	Social Disapproval	Deterrence	Crime Hassles
High R & L (n=20)	- .03	-.06	-.13	.04
Low R & L (n=21)	.02	.12	.17*	-.07

**p<.01 *p<.05

For most of these factors, the trend is for the correlations to come some way between those found for recidivism and lambda separately (see table 4.17). Thus the significant correlations with lambda and social disapproval disappears and the significant negative correlation between low recidivism and crime hassles disappears, possibly because the reference point includes the bottom two recidivism groups considering those with four or less prosecutions. The exception to the trend was the significant correlation found between the low recidivism/ low lambda group and deterrence.

Desistence and Wellbeing

The correlations between the affectometer the ten qualities of wellbeing that make up this scale and the desistence factors are shown in table 4.18. Both 'bonding and coping' and social disapproval show significant correlations with optimism and social support. Overall, bonding and coping correlates significantly with the affectometer while social disapproval does not. All the wellbeing measures correlate positively with bonding and coping whereas there are some negative correlations for social disapproval (in particular, with energy)

Deterrence shows a positive relationship with confluence and overall only a small correlation with the affectometer r (140)=.07, n.s. Crime hassles shows a significant positive relationship with optimism and thought clarity plus a significant relationship with the whole scale.

How individual items on the desistence questionnaire correlated with the wellbeing measures is shown in appendix 10, table 6.13. Some key items that kept appearing were family support, friends support, financially unrewarding, employment and long term considerations. Some interesting correlations that occurred were: system support with self-esteem; cultural pride with freedom.

Table 4.18: Correlations between the desistence factors and the affectometer.				
Factors	Bonding and coping	Social disapproval	Deterrence	Crime Hassles
Affectometer	.25**	.14	.07	.21*
Confluence	.15	.11	.22**	.04
Optimism	.24**	.19*	.14	.21*
Self Esteem	.11	.15	-.03	.07
Self Efficacy	.08	.10	-.03	.13
Social Support	.25**	.23**	.09	.03
Social Interest	.07	.01	-.05	.00
Freedom	.10	-.02	-.04	.16
Energy	.02	-.11	-.14	.01
Cheerfulness	.06	.03	.04	.13
Thought clarity	.05	-.02	.12	.21*

**p<.01 *p<.05

4.3 *Adolescent Results*

In consideration of adolescence as a starting point for an offending rationale, analysis was done comparing those who have had minimal contact with the law and repeat offender as well as those with high (above 36) and low lambda scores. Those deemed to be adolescents are under twenty years old.

In looking at the correlations with the involvement factors (appendix 11, table 6.14), both the repeat offenders and high lambda group showed a

significant correlation with compulsion r (26)=.23, p<.01 and r (26)=.31, p<.01, the stronger correlation being with the lambda group. The low lambda group clearly rejected criminal choice r (25)=-.20, p<.01 although this was not evident for the low recidivism group r (26)=-.07, n.s. Criminal choice approached significance for the high lambda group.

Looking at the significant relationships between the individual involvement items and the adolescent groups (appendix 11, table 6.15), three items appeared as significantly more important for the repeat offenders: difficulty stopping (sing. and pl.) and alternative to work. The high lambda group found a range of items significantly more important than the low lambda group. These related to criminal choice (financial choice, best way, for drugs/alcohol, financial gains, cash, buyer) and compulsion (ability, appearances, beating the system, difficulty stopping (sing. & pl.), excitement, just do it (pl.)), with one item coming from outside these factors (appearance).

4.4 *Ethnic Results*

Maori and Pakeha differences were considered in three ways. The first was by considering the measure of ethnicity by combining items from the cultural identity questionnaire. The second was to split Maori and Pakeha by the amount of officially recorded offending and by whether they labelled themselves Maori (i.e. Both Maori and Pakeha, Mostly Maori, Maori) or Pakeha (i.e. Mostly Pakeha, Pakeha). The third was to split Maori and Pakeha by the amount of self-reported offending (Lambda) and by whether they labelled themselves Maori (i.e. Both Maori and Pakeha, Mostly Maori, Maori) or Pakeha (i.e. Mostly Pakeha, Pakeha).

The open ended questions.

For the question of why they had become involved in property offending lately, Pakeha were more likely than Maori to initially attribute their involvement to wanting money for drugs or alcohol. This was true for those low in recidivism (22% compared to 12%) as well as the high (36% compared to 20%). An analysis of variance did not find this significant $F(3,133)=1.6$, n.s. However, there was a positive correlation with ethnicity $r\ (140)=.18$, $p<.05$ although this trend did not continue to be significant for the question of what were the most important reasons for involvement $r\ (140)=.08$, n.s. or when asked about wanting money for drugs or alcohol in the involvement questionnaire $r\ (140)=.11$, n.s.

In considering important reasons for desisting, the Maori/ high recidivism group (i.e. those having more than four prosecutions) considered stress on their families more than the Pakeha /high recidivism group (32% compared to 19%). However, in qualifying this statement there was some coding difficulties between family support and family stress, Initially items were coded as family support and later they were coded as family stress with stress and support being separated more clearly[4]. The Maori and Pakeha groups evened out when stress and support were combined.

A clearer result was found for the item concerning the trust in other thieves as a hassle involved in crime. Overall Maori were less inclined to trust other thieves (32% compared to 19%). Analysis of variance showed

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[4] Family stress and family support were combined under family stress when the frequencies of response were shown earlier because of these coding difficulties.

that this was significant F(3,133)=3.6, p<.01 and a tukey test found a difference between the Maori/ high recidivism group and the Pakeha/high recidivism group. Trust in others also showed a significant relationship with Maori ethnicity *r* (140)=.22, p<.05.

Table 4.19: Correlations between the race/ recidivism groups, ethnicity and the involvement factors

Ethnic Groups / Factors	Maori/ Low Recidivism (n=17)	Maori/ High Recidivism (n=20)	Pakeha/ Low Recidivism (n=55)	Pakeha/ High Recidivism (n=45)	Ethnicity
Criminal Choice	-.05	.08	-.24**	.23**	Pakeha .02
Compulsion	.07	.10	-.23**	.15	Maori .06
Situational Response	-.13	.22**	-.08	-.03	Maori .12
Planning	.03	.09	-.17*	.06	Maori .06

**p<.01 *p<.05

Ethnic Differences in Reasons for Involvement

Table 4.19 shows the correlations between ethnicity, the Maori and Pakeha recidivism groups and the involvement factors. The results show some interesting relationships. The Pakeha/ low recidivists clearly reject criminal choice, compulsion and planning. However, Pakeha high in recidivism significantly correlate with criminal choice, while the Maori do not. This result was as predicted and supports hypothesis 2 which suggested Pakeha are more likely to be involved in crime for monetary reasons. The Maori/ high recidivism group correlated significantly with situational response. This supports hypothesis 6 which suggested that a

Maori vulnerability relates to a sense of social injustice. However the relationship with the situational factor is thought to be more than this. Ethnicity and social interest (an item from the affectometer) showed a significant relationship for Maori r (141)=.17, p<.05, which is suggestive of the strength of social bonds for Maori. The impression formed during the study is that interpersonal stress was more likely to trigger offending for Maori than Pakeha. However, the Maori low recidivism group shows no clear relationship with any factor. The strongest relationship found is a negative correlation with the situational factor r (17)=-.13, n.s., a reverse of the trend found for the Maori high recidivism group.

The measure of ethnicity found no significant correlations with the involvement factors, the strongest correlation being with the situational response factor r (140)=.12, n.s. The ethnicity results are thought to be the product of the high and low recidivism groups showing quite different trends.

Looking at differences in importance of involvement items between the race/recidivism groups (appendix 12, table 6.16), most of the items mentioned show that there is more similarities than differences between the Pakeha and Maori high recidivism groups which contrast with the Pakeha low recidivism group (cash, financial choice, alternative to work, difficulty stopping (sing.)). The item 'best way' seems more applicable to Pakeha with a difference found between low and high Pakeha recidivism groups. There were a few items which applied more to Maori. For 'unjust society' the Maori low and high recidivism groups are contrasted. For 'people lacking honesty' there was no significant differences between groups although the Maori high recidivism group had the highest mean score. The 'difficulty stopping (pl.)' item contrasted the Pakeha low

recidivism group with the Maori low recidivism group and the Pakeha high recidivism group, the latter groups considering this more important for involvement.

In looking at the relationship between individual items and ethnicity four items significantly correlated with Maori ethnicity. These are: peer influence (140)=.17, p<.05; achievement *r* (140) =.20, p<.05; victim deserved it *r* (140)=.24, p<.01; and, redistributing wealth *r* (140)=.20, p<.05. The last two items reflect social injustice and support hypothesis 8. The correlation between Maori ethnicity and peer influence supports hypothesis 6.

Table 4.20: Correlations between involvement factors and the race/lambda groups

Ethnic Groups / Factors	Maori/ Low Lambda (n=17)	Maori/ High Lambda (n=20)	Pakeha/ Low Lambda (n=55)	Pakeha/ High Lambda (n=45)
Criminal Choice	-.22**	.25**	-.32**	.33**
Compulsion	-.20*	.35**	-.33**	.25**
Situational Response	.01	.13	-.09	-.02
Planning	.01	.10	-.06	-.05

**p<.01 *p<.05

Table 4.20 shows the relationship of the involvement factors with Pakeha and Maori low and high lambda groups. As with the earlier lambda results situational response does not show a significant relationship. For criminal

choice the results show a stronger relationship with the Pakeha high lambda group compared to the Maori high lambda group. The pattern for the compulsion item reverses the order, the Maori high lambda group correlates more strongly than the Pakeha high lambda group. For both the compulsion and criminal choice factors, the Pakeha low lambda group shows a stronger negative correlation than for the Maori low recidivism group.

In looking at individual items from the involvement questionnaire (appendix 12, table 6.17), there are a number of interesting results. For items from the criminal choice factor, the similarities found between the Maori and Pakeha high lambda groups were: for alcohol/drugs, best way, alternative to work, cash, financial choice. The items appearing as more applicable to the Pakeha high lambda group were: buyer, supplying, for a good time, financial gains, potential gains. One item appeared as more applicable to the Maori high lambda group, 'no other way'.

For items from the compulsion factor, the similarities found between the Maori and Pakeha high lambda groups were: difficulty stopping (sing. and pl.), just do it (pl.), appearances, and things for self. The items appearing as more applicable to the Maori high lambda group were: good stories, excitement, trusting others, ability.

Looking at the two items that were not part of criminal choice or compulsion, achievement appeared as more applicable to the Maori high lambda group, and appearance appeared more applicable to Pakeha. Appearance was a bit of a confounded item and considered whether physical appearance had anything to do with their involvement (e.g. tattoos, the way they looked made crime easier). Similarly achievement

could be considered a confounded item with the phrasing being 'feeling good about stealing, gaining a sense of achievement', the emotional aspect may have captured a revenge type of response.

Table 4.21: Correlations between the race/recidivism groups, ethnicity and the desistence factors.

Ethnic Groups / Factors	Maori/ Low Recidivism (n=16)	Maori/ High Recidivism (n=20)	Pakeha/ Low Recidivism (n=55)	Pakeha/ High Recidivism (n=45)	Ethnicity
Bonding and Coping.	.10	-.06	-.10	.07	Maori .06
Social Disapproval	.14	.05	-.13	-.02	Maori .15
Deterrence	.05	-.10	.05	.01	.00
Crime Hassles	-.02	.12	-.07	.02	Maori .06

**p<.01 *p<.05

Ethnic Differences in Reasons for Desistence

Table 4.21 shows no significant correlations between the race/recidivism groups, ethnicity and the desistence factors. There is potential for a trend for the social disapproval factor with positive correlations for the Maori groups and negative correlations for the Pakeha groups. It appears as noteworthy that the negative relationship with social disapproval appears stronger for the Pakeha low recidivism group rather than the high. The tendency for social disapproval to appear for stronger for Maori is also reflected in ethnicity, the relationship with Maori ethnicity approaching significance r (n=140)=.15, n.s.

Table 4.22: Correlations between desistence factors and race/lambda groups				
Ethnic Groups Factors	Maori/ Low lambda (n=16)	Maori/ High Lambda (n=20)	Pakeha/ Low lambda (n=55)	Pakeha/ High Lambda (n=45)
Bonding and Coping.	.05	.00	.07	-.10
Social Disapproval	.19*	.00	.10	-.26**
Deterrence	.00	-.05	.17	-.11
Crime Hassles	-.01	.12	-.16	.11

**p<.01 *p<.05

The pattern of Maori and Pakeha differences in social disapproval appears again for the Lambda groups (table 4.22). There was a significant, positive correlation for the Maori low lambda group and a significant negative correlation for the Pakeha high lambda group. The negative relationships found for the high lambda groups in relation to bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence seem more applicable to Pakeha, Maori high in recidivism appear to be more neutral in their relationship to these factors. The trend for low lambda groups showing a positive relationship with bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence appears again in the ethnic results, the strongest relationship for Pakeha being deterrence, the strongest relationship fro Maori being social disapproval. Crime hassles show a positive relationship with the high lambda groups and a negative relationship with the low lambda groups.

Looking at the significant relationships between individual items on the desistence questionnaire and ethnicity, the disapproval of the family shows up for Maori *r* (n=140)=.17. p<.05 as well as the item on cultural pride *r* (n=140)=.42, p<.01. Cultural pride also appeared as a difference between the race/recidivism groups F(3,132)=4.7, p<.01 with the two Pakeha groups differing from the Maori low recidivism group (tukey test, p<.05). These items appeared again for the race/lambda groups: family disapproval F(3,132)=6.0, p<.01, hurting the victim F(3,132)=6.0, p<.01 and cultural pride F(3,132)=5.2, p<.01. The tukey test found no significant differences between groups for 'hurting the victim', 'family disapproval' varied between the Maori and Pakeha high lambda groups, Maori considering this more important. The Maori low lambda group differed from the two Pakeha groups for 'cultural pride'.

4.5 *INVOLVEMENT AND DESISTENCE.*

Table 4.23: Correlations between the involvement factors and desistence factors.

Factors	Criminal Choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
Bonding and Coping	-.02	.02	.34**	-.02
Social disapproval	-.14	-.00	.27**	-.03
Deterrence	-.20*	-.08	.08	-.07
Crime Hassles	.30**	.21*	.22**	.03

**p<.01 *p<.05

Table 4.23 shows a clear pattern of relationships between the involvement and desistence factors. For criminal choice there is a negative relationship between bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence, the latter

being significant Criminal choice shows the strongest relationship of any of the involvement factors with crime hassles. Crime hassles also appears as a significant relationship with compulsion.

The situational response factor shows a positive relationship with all the deterrence factors, three of these relationships being significant.. Bonding and coping shows the strongest relationship followed by social disapproval, crime hassles and non-significantly, deterrence. For the planning factor there was no significant relationships.

Items from the desistence questionnaire that correlate with the involvement factors are shown in appendix 13, table 6.18. Interestingly 'police' appears significant for criminal choice and compulsion, 'secrecy' appears for criminal choice. Their appearance suggests their importance over monetary considerations which is also part of crime hassles. 'Being labelled' and 'family disapproval' negatively correlate to criminal choice, suggesting that these do not apply to this group. For the compulsion factor, 'parental response' correlated positively and 'losing friends' is negatively correlated.

The situational response shows a more realistic appraisal of crime with financially unrewarding appearing. Also, 'family disapproval' and 'feeling tension' are significant accompanied by those to do with coping, 'employment' and 'managing debt'.

The negative correlation between employment and planning is interesting, suggesting that those who plan have a tendency to reject work options.

Looking from the other direction, involvement items were correlated with desistence factors (see appendix 13, table 6.19). Crime hassles correlated significantly with a number of involvement items, many of which came from criminal choice. Social disapproval and 'bonding and coping' had a tendency for the same items to appear (unhappy, upset and family needs). Bonding and coping also showed a positive correlation with 'unjust society'. The rest of the mix for social disapproval is rather interesting and includes 'peer influence', 'courage' and 'difficulty stopping (sing)'. Deterrence shows the same tendency for situational considerations to appear (peer influence, unhappy) as well as those that relate to criminal, spontaneous decision making (not considering consequences, chance of getting caught).

There was a number of items from criminal choice (and the achievement item) that negatively correlated with deterrence. 'Financial choice' and 'supplying' negatively correlated with social disapproval.

Discussion

5.1 *Summary Of Results In Relation To The Hypotheses.*

INVOLVEMENT HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders will report that their choice to be involved in crime is based on the unavailability of legitimate means to obtain financial resources and the viability of crime.*
This is supported by the relationship of criminal choice (factor and items) to the high recidivism as well as the high lambda group.

Hypothesis 2: *Pakeha will be more likely to choose crime for financial rewards than Maori.*
Supported by the Pakeha high recidivism correlating significantly with criminal choice and not the Maori high recidivism group, the stronger relationship for the Pakeha high lambda group compared with the Maori high lambda group with criminal choice, and individual items related to the financial rewards (financial gains, potential gains, for a good time) appearing significant for the Pakeha high lambda group.

Hypothesis 3: *Compulsive property offending, measured by self reports of impulsiveness and difficulty stopping, will be related to the excitement it generates.*
This is supported by the items loading onto the compulsion factor.

Hypothesis 4: *Persistent as well as frequent offenders are likely to be compulsive in their behaviour*
This is supported by the relationship of compulsion (factor and items) to the high recidivism as well as the high lambda group.

Hypothesis 5: *Infrequent offenders may view their involvement as a response to the situation that they find themselves in (e.g. stress, peer pressure).*
Not supported. The 'situation' item showed a non-significant tendency to be more important for those low in recidivism. Overall, situational items appeared with the social comparison items forming the situational response factor which correlated significantly with the high recidivism group and showed no significant relationship with the lambda groups.

Hypothesis 6: *Maori are more likely than Pakeha to be influenced to become involved in crime by peers.*
Supported by the significant correlation between peer influence and Maori ethnicity and the items that were found to be more important for the high lambda group from compulsion (good stories, excitement, trusting others). Note that Maori were also more inclined to consider untrustworthy co-offenders as a hassle.

Hypothesis 7: *Social injustice, as measured by issues of equity and perceived honesty of others, is more likely to be a rationale of persistent offenders.*
Generally supported with the finding of the situational response being correlated with high recidivism and the 'unjust society' item significantly correlating with high recidivism. There was no relationship found with lambda.

Hypothesis 8: *Maori are more likely to consider social injustice than Pakeha in their rationale for involvement in property crime.*
This is supported by the Maori high recidivism group correlating significantly with situational response while the Pakeha high recidivism group does not. Some individual items related to social injustice (unjust society, redistributing wealth) tended to relate more to the Maori high recidivism group.

Hypothesis 9: *The planning of crimes can be separated from reasons for involvement (criminal choice, compulsion, situational response).*
This is supported by the formation of the planning factor. Planning correlated significantly with criminal choice and compulsion but not with situational response.

DESISTENCE HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 10: *Social bonding, as measured by consideration of family and friends support and disapproval as well as employment, will be a major influence on the intention to desist from crime.*
Supported by the large numbers of participants who considered important for desisting from crime and the formation of the 'social disapproval' and 'bonding and coping' factors.

Hypothesis 11: *Social bonding as a reason for desisting, will not relate to the amount of offending that has previously occurred (recidivism).*
Supported.

Hypothesis 12: *Social bonding as a reason for desistence will not relate to criminal choice or compulsion as reasons for involvement.*
Supported.

Hypothesis 13: *Persistent offenders will be influenced by the practicalities of crime (i.e. how much money they make, trying not to get caught) in considering whether to desist.*
Unsupported by the results from the recidivism groups and unsupported by the results from the lambda groups although the latter approached significance. Instead those low in recidivism tended not to consider crime hassles.

Hypothesis 14: *Infrequent as well as nonpersistent offenders are more likely to be deterred from crime than frequent and persistent offenders by justice system deterrents.*
Supported by a significant correlation with the low recidivism/low lambda group. Separately, recidivism and lambda showed a tendency for the low end of the scale to consider deterrence while the high end of the scale showed a negative relationship occurring.

In formulating hypotheses for this study, the intention was to create a parsimonious overview of the involvement and desistence themes and consider ethnic differences. They offer broad brush strokes for considering how the information may have been compiled. However, the intention was always to create a wider perspective of these factors. Thus, the affectometer was included to explore perceptions of self and the social environment and how these qualities of wellbeing may interact with reasons for involvement and desistence.

In consideration of the exploratory nature of the study, the fact that there are more results than those that relate specifically to the hypotheses proposed, the hypotheses are discussed within the wider context of the results found. The following discussion will consider: 1) the impressions created by looking at how the involvement questionnaire was answered by participants 'in general' and their relationship to past research: 2) consideration of how the involvement factors and items are more applicable to the more extreme offenders; 3) A holistic view of the involvement factors, their relationship with the affectometer, interaction with the desistence factors, the theoretical implications of these formulations and recommendations about appropriate

interventions; 4) A closer look at the desistence factors with consideration to the frequencies, consideration of their applicability to groups with different rates of offending and restrictive deterrence (whether they limit the amount of offending); 5) ethnic differences; and 6) the shortcomings of this present study and future directions for research.

5.2 *REASONS FOR INVOLVEMENT*

Involvement Frequencies

The view offered by the open end-questions on involvement differed from the frequencies obtained from the involvement questionnaire. The open-ended questions showed the same sort of patterns that have been found in interview based research. Bennett and Wright (1984) noted that meeting instrumental needs, expressive needs, the influence of alcohol and the influence of peers were considered as trigger factors by offenders. The most important reasons for involvement captured these same items.

In comparison, the view presented by the frequencies obtained from the involvement questionnaire show what is applicable to most offenders. The extent to which offenders self-reported planning differed quite substantially to the results of Erez (1987). She concluded that most offenders did not plan (80 to 85%) which is at the other end of the scale to the results found here. This may have been due to the demand characteristics of this study that also asked people why they had got involved in crime. However,

this would not explain the differences on their own. The main effect is likely to be that the criterion for planning is different. This study did not seek a qualitative view of planning but rather asked whether there had been a plan and whether this was considered adequate at the time. This applied to the participant's perception of the plan and not whether they had been involved in its formation. Erez's conception of planning seemed more qualitative and treated impulsive acts and planning as mutually exclusive categories.

Overall, if the items that were frequently mentioned can be grouped together, the impression that is created is of a rational choice perspective for involvement in criminal events (Cornish and Clarke 1985 1989). That is, that they were impulsive (temptation, just do it (sing.), not considering consequences) but at the same time a majority of offenders felt that they had made adequate plans and they were safe from detection. The offender felt that it was a rational choice at the time.

Also worth noting is that the items to do with not being able to obtain financial resources through legitimate sources appear more frequently than the items to do with the financial rewards of crime. For this type of street crime, the experience of adversity is more frequently reported by offenders as a common influence on the decision to become involved in crime than the financial or positive emotional experiences involved.

Rationales for frequent and persistent offenders?

One of the findings of this study is that self-reported frequency of offending (lambda) and the amount of officially recorded offending did not inter-relate. The frequency of offending could vary depending on the type of crime committed (e.g. armed robbery) but this unrelatedness with recidivism is more likely to be due to the degree of commitment that an offender has to crime at the time. It is likely to be a product of acceleration or deceleration in the criminal career and variances between individuals in their rate of offending. They are, therefore, unrelated and frequency of offending could be seen as an indication of what was happening now whereas recidivism considers what has occurred in the past.

In this light, criminal choice, compulsion and situational response may all show a vulnerability for long-term offending and criminal choice and compulsion also showing a vulnerability for frequent offending. The situational response factor did not show any relationship with lambda, possibly the degree to which it occurs at the high end of the lambda scale may depend on the extent to which it occurs with the other rationales (criminal choice, compulsion).

In considering vulnerability for long-term offending, there is the possibility that the high recidivism group has always had views that are more extreme or that they have developed over time (e.g. Walters 1990). Either way, they are rationales that give insight into persistent offending and this relationship appears

stronger when these rationales co-occur. Considering that criminal choice and compulsion are related to frequency of offending, it would appear that the more frequent offenders are likely to be the most vulnerable to re-offending.

In looking at the direction in which the involvement items related to both recidivism and lambda, virtually all showed that they were more applicable to the extreme offenders. The exceptions to this rule are the 'situation' showing a non-significant trend to be related to the low recidivism end of the scale and 'drink/drugs for courage' relating to low lambda. Even when lambda and recidivism were combined, no items were more applicable to the minimal offenders. There was also no signs of cumulative effects for the factors when recidivism and lambda were combined. The strongest negative correlations occurring between the criminal choice and compulsion factors were in relation to the low lambda group.

In qualifying the findings on peer influence, it may be that the cross-cultural make-up of this study clouds the results on this item. However, Pakeha who were low in recidivism as well as those who were infrequent were not distinguished from the other groups for this item on peer influence. This may of course be a product of the reference point not being low enough. The low recidivism Pakeha group was defined as those with less than five prosecutions. In consideration of past research, it appears that this is unlikely. Jungar-Tas (1992) found that friends approved of criminal behaviour for 43% of cases involving low-frequency offending and in 60% of cases involving a high frequency of

offending. It may be that those low in offending find peer pressure as more salient but that the tendency of high frequency offenders to be involved with others of a similar disposition may mean that this is a powerful force for them too.

In general, it seems that persistent offenders may share vulnerabilities with nonpersistent offenders as well as having rationales and vulnerabilities that are unique to them. The same relationship appears between frequent and infrequent offenders. It appears that there is nothing unique about the rationale for infrequent as well as nonpersistent offenders from the data collected in this study.

In qualifying this, continuing and non-continuing offenders are not distinguished in the low recidivism groups and the low lambda groups. It is possible that this relationship will not be clear without longitudinal research. Also the sample is not a general population sample. It slants towards persistent offending, only 18 people had one prosecution.

Perhaps the perspective offered by looking at the compilation of items that relate to the desistence factors may shed light on rationales for those most likely to discontinue offending. For example, involvement items positively correlating with deterrence were: not considering consequences; chance of getting caught; upset and peer influence. Similarly, some of the involvement items appearing with social disapproval were peer influence and courage. Both 'bonding and coping' and social disapproval showed a relationship with the 'unhappy, upset and 'family needs' items.

It may be that being able to form justifications for criminal involvement is the key to why the situational response factor is an indicator of recidivism or that this rationale may be the most difficult to predict who will or won't continue offending depending on life experiences or how someone learns to handle stress. What may have been missing from the consideration of adolescence being influenced by their peers for criminal involvement is that they may be more vulnerable to this influence at times of emotional distress.

Criminal choice

The criminal choice factor shows an interesting combination of items that are in line with the proposal that crime will be chosen over other options when it is considered as viable and legitimate sources are considered to be unavailable (Hypothesis 1). However, the emphasis seems to be on the positive aspects of this choice, the viability of crime, and consideration of the unavailability of other options appears short term (i.e. no other way to get money). The item on the difficulty getting work did not load onto this factor.

These results can be interpreted from a number of perspectives. From the social control perspective, this would suggest that those with a criminal choice rationale will not have a strong bond with society. There are other elements that are missing from this item that suggest an antisocial perspective such as the exclusion of the item on needing money for bills.

In contrast, strain theory would consider how individuals "may minimise the strain they experience by reducing the absolute and/or relative importance assigned to goals, values and identities (see Agnew 1983; Thoits 1991a)" (Agnew 1992:67). That is, they may re-evaluate the importance of work to minimise strain and emphasise other areas, perhaps the attainment of financial goals.

In considering whether strain or social control is supported by the present research, the correlation found with confluence would suggest that strain theory is a more appropriate interpretation. Those who have formed a criminal rationale are likely to consider that life is not on the right track. They may successfully be able to neutralise some of the strain by de-emphasizing the employment choice, but this technique may not be so successful in countering more immediate stress (i.e. not being able to get money any other way). This feeling of helplessness may be a conditioned stimulus that leads to an offending response.

Thus, offenders may not think in career terms but think opportunistically (Wilson & Abrahamse 1992). It may also be a factor in "temporal inconsistency", which refers to the tendency to act contrary to long term interests (Wilson & Abrahamse 1992).

Strain theory, in its classic sense (Merton 1938, Cohen 1955, Cloward and Ohlin 1960: from Agnew 1992) has focused on the attainment of positively valued goals. In particular the focus has been on the achievement of monetary success or middle class status. The question of why some people who experience this strain become involved while others do not has been a major

challenge to this theory's development. The most popular solution to this problem has been to consider the youth subculture that may emphasise a variety of immediate goals (Agnew 1992). This may impact on the options chosen for spending money (e.g. for woman, for drugs/alcohol, for a good time). However, the general focus on financial gains that is part of the criminal choice factor may offer another solution. That is, consideration of the helplessness felt by some individuals may be the key to why some people who experience strain offend and others do not.

The importance of achieving monetary goals may be due to feeling helpless in a range of different areas. It may not just be about the financial choice but include feeling helpless about attaining more immediate goals such as achievement academically, achievement in sport and popularity with the other sex (reviewed by Agnew 1992:50). Chaiken and Chaiken (1982 from Wilson and Abrahamse 1992) found that convicted criminals considered that criminal behaviour was incompatible with having friends and forming a family.

The view is compatible with Walters's (1990) 'lifestyle criminals', persistent offenders who have chosen a losing lifestyle, one in which they loose in dramatic and destructive ways. The primary motivating state for this decision is fear. "The lifestyle criminal fears many things, but he fears responsibility, commitment, intimacy, and failing in conventional pursuits most of all" (p.82)

In consideration of the limited sense of self that offenders may experience, they may not minimise the strain between aspirations

and real financial outcomes (e.g. Hyman 1953 from Agnew 1992). Rather an offender may cast about "for some positive attribute or circumstance within a troublesome situation. . .the person is aided in ignoring that which is noxious by anchoring his attention to what he considers the more worthwhile and rewarding aspects of experience" (Pearlin and Schooler 1978 from Agnew 1992:68).

Greenberg (1989) suggests that moderating the material aspirations of offenders may be useful. Research reviewed by Greenburg (Cloward and Ohlin 1960, Spergel 1964) suggests that delinquents tended to want more money than non-delinquents. Greenberg moderated material aspirations by evaluating various aspects of life (e.g. surroundings, school, hobbies, rest and relationships) from a materialistic and non-materialistic perspective. Consideration was also given to materialistic dilemmas.

There is little doubt that offenders cognitively distort their estimates of outcomes, this possibly applying to both actual and expected financial returns. Walters (1990) refers to this aspect of the offender's rationale as superoptimism. Wilson and Abrahamse (1992) produce some interesting data comparing criminal returns with those possible through legitimate channels. Crime appears to pay less for most mid rate offenders than what they could receive from legitimate work. An apt analogy may be the hare and the tortoise, while the hare rests because he is so fast, the tortoise who plods away wins the race in the end.

For high rate offenders, there was a slight improvement in financial returns over legitimate work. However, Wilson &

Abrahamse (1992) compare high rate, repeat offenders to binge eaters who "commit crimes well past the point where most of them will realise a positive yield; in this regard, they are like binge eaters who go on eating cake even though it makes them substantially worse off" (p.375).

In contrast, offenders believed that crime paid very well. Wilson & Abrahamse (1992:367) report that offenders "estimates of the monthly take from crime were much higher than ours; for mid rate burglars and thieves, it was nearly 12 times as high. Only for mid-rate auto thieves and high-rate swindlers were the two estimates even roughly comparable." In estimating their income, the inmates' reports of monthly income were suspiciously similar and not dependant on the amount of offending that they self-reported. Wilson & Abrahamse suggest that they do not sit down and work out the returns in any structured way. There is no pay cheque at the end of the week and no tax return at the end of the year. Rather, the formation of an estimate may be more like pulling a figure out of a hat. As an area of interest, participants in this study were sometimes asked what kind of return they would expect from stealing something worth $1,000. The replies were usually in the range of $600, well above the returns that could be expected if fences only pay one third (Klockars 1972).

The above distortions may provide some answers to why crime is seen as a choice by a minority of people, one that is pursued by a minority, while a majority would not consider it to be worthwhile. Moffitt (1993) provides a useful taxonomy of offenders into adolescent-specific and life-course-persistent. He suggests that

adolescent specific offenders may be a lot more flexible and more responsive to reinforcement and punishment contingencies. Life-course-persistent offenders are more subject to cumulative and contemporary continuity of antisocial forces. In considering the cumulative effects of the past, Moffitt starts with neuro-psychological differences, the possibility that subtle changes in brain chemistry create differences in psychological functioning. A number of studies are reviewed suggesting that the etiology of these differences may start at the foetus stage or created by abuse. These physiological differences may be exacerbated or lessened depending on the social environment. However, more difficult to control children may be more prone to negative responses that exacerbate already existing antisocial behaviour.

Moffitt suggest that the link between neuropsychological impairment and antisocial outcomes is one of the most robust effects in the study of antisocial behaviour.

> "Two sorts of neuropsychological deficits are empirically associated with antisocial behaviour: verbal and executive functions. The verbal deficits of antisocial children are pervasive, affecting receptive listening and reading, problem solving, expressive speech and writing, and memory. In addition, executive deficits produce what is sometimes referred to as comportmental learning disability (Price, Daffner, Stowe, & Mesulam 1990), including symptoms such as inattention and impulsivity. These cognitive deficits and antisocial behaviour share variance that is independent of social class, race, test motivation and academic attainment (Moffitt 1990b; Lynman, Moffitt & Stouthamer-Loeber 1993) In addition, the relation is not an artefact of slow-witted delinquents' greater susceptibility to detection by police;

undetected delinquents have weak cognitive skills too (Moffitt & Silva 1988a)" (p.680).

In consideration of these etiological questions, there appear to be two considerations when looking at rationale that may maintain offending behaviour. The first is the development of an offending rationale and how this may occur over time. The second is that altering offending behaviour is not likely to be as simple as pointing out cognitive distortions about the criminal option.

Wilson and Abrahamse suggest that "a 'criminal career' is what one observes retrospectively as the characteristic of people who have seized criminal opportunity, even though sooner or later the odds will catch up with them (and even though the criminal knows this.)" (p.375). Walter (1990) takes the view that a rationality consistent with offending may develop over time. He considers that about mid career (about thirty), a lifestyle criminal will have the strongest commitment to their offending behaviour.

Because it may be a career of non-choice, an un-chosen direction in life, the formation of a criminal choice rationality may take longer than adolescence to evolve and consolidate. Ross, Fabiano and Ewles (1988) note that the cognitive style of delinquent youth is "concretistic, action oriented, non-reflective and impulsive." In consideration of this question, the findings on adolescent involvement have been included. It can be seen that the predominant makeup of repeat as well as frequent offenders in adolescence is compulsion. However, there was also some key elements of criminal choice that appeared for the frequent

offenders (e.g. financial choice, financial gains, best way). In this way the concept of identity formation may be a useful one even during adolescents.

Useful terms that accompany the concept of identity are *foreclosure* and *diffusion*. Foreclosure is seen as early identity formation, when a child has not moved through what Erikson (1968) describes this as a *psychological moratorium*, a period of time without excessive responsibilities or obligations allowing for the pursuit of self discovery without serious consequences. An example given in Harter's (1990) review of influences on identity foreclosure are autocratic parents who regulate their child's behaviour not allowing for the expression of opinions. Similarly, a child whose parents are still involved in criminal activity may perceive of few other options. Other influences on identity foreclosure may be failure at school and helplessness related to being able to obtain conventional goals. Similarly, Moffitt (1993) suggests that life-course-persistent offenders may have a limited repertoire of behaviour to choose from, this applying over a wide range of situations. Moffitt would emphasize stability across situations whereas identity foreclosure may maintain stable self-images across time that do not become integrated (Harter 1990). There may be an inability to transfer skills from one situation to another or to review the criminal option even when other areas of life may be more functional.

At the other end of the spectrum is identity diffusion. "The status of identity diffusion refers to individuals who have little sense of commitment and are not actively seeking to make decisions"

(Harter 1990:379). Identity diffusion is most likely to occur in children who feel alienated from their parents (Marcia 1988 from Harter 1990) The states of identity diffusion, identity foreclosure, moratorium (choosing among options) and identity achievement (identity resolution) can be categorical, show a developmental trend (.e.g the ideal resolution of identity issues may see the exploration of possibilities and issues- identity diffusion- followed by the formation of a relatively stable sense of self) or there may be shifts in identity status depending on circumstances (e.g. individuals in moratorium stage may revert to diffusion).

From this perspective, the criminal choice option and it's view from within the concept of identity can be seen as something created by individuals exploring options or having a relatively stable sense of self (Identity foreclosure). Similarly Phillips (1991) suggests a 'hedgehog view' to the development of helplessness. This may be due to family background factors or in response to the immediate environment (e.g. unemployment).

In this way what may maintain behaviour for some adolescent-specific offenders as well as life-course-persistent offenders (Moffitt 1993) may be similar, however the persistent offenders who refrain at a developmentally normal pace may be more conscious of re-inforcement and punishment contingencies or these contingencies may differ. For example, the employment item on the desistence questionnaire correlated with self-efficacy. Also, the ability to form and maintain functional relationships may create more positive life-options.

Looking specifically at the criminal choice rationale and what may create a re-evaluation of options, crime hassles was the desistence factor which directly related to criminal choice. In particular, the items on the difficulty getting away with crime (not trusting other, police) seemed most important. It may be that part of the natural process of giving up crime by those who have made a firm criminal choice is to consider the face saving option of being too well known to the police for them to make a success out of the criminal option. However, even the perception of risk can be seen from a rational choice perspective. Horney & Marshall (1992) found that perception of risk is formed by consideration of the ratio of arrests to crime, even among serious offenders.
It is also noteworthy that those who adopt a criminal choice are more likely to neutralise deterrence, they may accept the possibility the if they do the crime, they 'do the time' (prison sentence).

To re-evaluate the monetary gains of crime, knowledge about the unviable nature of crime seems like a useful approach. The appearance of the item on potential gains for those high in recidivism may suggest that repeat offenders believe that even if they are not making a success out of crime, other people are. A possible strategy for countering this belief is to consider that it takes careful planning and a great deal of luck to get away with crime and that if someone can make a success out of crime than surely they can also become successful in less risky endeavours. The great train robber, Raymond Biggs is an example of someone who successfully got away with a crime and is now a successful business man.

The basic premise of a rational choice approach to crime is that there is a weighing up of options. It may not be possible to create positive behaviour by shattering a sense of the viable nature of crime. The other side of the equation also needs to be addressed. Wilson and Abrahmse (1992) impression of criminals is that they are not shut out of the work force but are relatively unsuccessful members of it. Homant (1984) reviewed a number of studies which found that there seemed to be more prejudice against an overweight person than an ex-offender.

> "Davis (1980) surveyed 73 Canadian companies and found that only 22 regularly asked about a potential employee's prior record. Of these 22, all but 3 expressed a willingness to hire an ex-offender.....Even with respect to licensing for various occupations...Olsen and Pasewark (1981) found little evidence of a problem. Although 95% of the statutes surveyed had licensing restrictions...these were usually worded in terms of moral character rather than past criminal convictions. Furthermore only 4% of the statues called for mandatory denial. In the profession most frequently involved for ex-offenders, there were 16 licensing denials of 250 ex-offender barber applicants. Even in psychology, only 2 of 12 ex-felons were denied licensing. These data indicate known felons; only half of the licensing boards indicated they checked the applicant's background for criminal activity".

In looking at it from the offenders perspective, this study found that 28% who more often than not had regular employment or were self-employed and a further 23% said that the ratio of employment was about half and half. It may be a minority of offenders who feel that they are shut out of the work force, presumably those more seriously involved in crime or there may

be a feeling of uncertainty amongst many offenders about how their criminal record will affect their future. In looking at how participants felt before their latest criminal involvement, there was a strong majority of offenders who said that the difficulty getting work had been a contributing factor (65%).

In considering whether offenders are relatively unsuccessful members of the workforce, Wiederlanders (1981) found that young offenders had little difficulty finding work, 96% finding some employment within the year after release, but that at any give time, the employment rate may be fairly low (about 55%) due to difficulties keeping jobs. About 31% lost jobs due to unfavourable dismissals and 68% (not excluding the first 31%) quit a job mainly because of interpersonal conflict with the employer or co-worker or difficulty keeping to schedule. Wiederlanders suggests that programs aimed at finding jobs for ex-offenders are largely misdirected. He concludes:

> "training well spent would be on how to get along with or tolerate co-workers, how to hang on to a job long enough for promotions or better work opportunities to present themselves, how to use informal peer networks for support or to air gripes, and how to get on the job or part-time training for better employment when motivation for it develops." (p.11-12)

It may be that offenders not only feel helpless about getting a job but keeping one as well. In line with the theme of training offenders in work skills, it may be possible to incorporate this approach in work situations in prisons, rehabilitation centres,

periodic detention and supervision. In all these situations it may be possible to train supervisors in management techniques which allow offenders to monitor their performance, experience control over their input and resolve interpersonal conflict while maintaining the integrity of the sentence.

Compulsion

In line with hypotheses 3, the items to do with positive emotional experiences, spontaneity and the difficulty stopping appeared in the same factor, suggesting that criminal behaviour is compulsive for some offenders. In light of this, the question of relapse prevention and what form this should take becomes imminent.

In considering the temporal sequencing of a property crime event, the significant correlation with the situational response suggests that for some the pattern may be to experience negative affect and for this to be alleviated by the positive affect occurring with crime. In experiencing excitement, the trend was for those with more long term emotional re-actions to occur during and after the criminal event. It seems appropriate to find out what the emotional triggers for these events may be and how to counter any thoughts and reactions occurring before such events so that more positive coping responses may be created.

In qualifying the applicability of this particular relapse prevention approach to the compulsion factor, it seems important to point out that a stronger correlation occured between criminal choice and compulsion than between situation response and compulsion. It

may be that for many offenders there experience of crime is that of winning 'beating the system' and a more appropriate approach may be to directly counter cognitions about the excitement that crime generates.

The etiology of stimulation seeking tendencies may be physiological and/or environmental. The view of the hyperactive-impulsive-attention (HIA) deficit child being prone to criminal behaviour is reviewed by Farrington, Loeber and Van Kamman (1990). From their review, these tendencies can be seen from an early age (Taylor 1986b). Farrington et al found that HIA was particularly predictive of early convictions while conduct problems (CP) were "more predictive of self-reported delinquency, adult convictions and recidivism...HIA and CP also significantly predicted...those who went on to become chronic offenders. Both were independently predictive of chronic offending. They had interactive effects, since chronic offending was especially low when neither HIA nor CP were present" (p.77). Farrington et al suggest that early intervention is appropriate for these kinds of disorders.

In considering a more environmental approach to the etiology of compulsion, Farrington (1987) notes that a lack leisure time spent with fathers was predictive of future criminal involvement. It may be that some offenders have not learnt to play in constructive ways. It is, of course, more fulfiling to play in groups and this may explain the social interaction aspects of crime appearing in this factor (good stories, appearances). Modifying the social

environment is an applicable relapse prevention strategy in these circumstances.

Quereau and Zimmermen (1992) outline a number of ways to create fun and playfulness in everyday life in a non-expensive manner. They comment:

> "For those people who have grown up in stressed and worried homes. . . The very strategies that they learned to survive may contribute to their levels of stress as they become adults. What may have worked in the particular context of their family may be limiting in the realities of their adult life." (p.7-8)

Quereau and Zimmermen express the view that those who have had a stressful childhood, may have been more adult as children and more childlike as adults than what they wanted to be. There may be also be a number of issues related to play, many may have experienced 'play' situations that were dangerous and victimising (Quereau and Zimmermen 1992).

In looking at compulsion from another angle, it also encompasses other intrinsically motivating items such as ability. It is not surprising that this factor positively correlates with self-esteem while criminal choice was not significant. This is the factor that has the intrinsically motivating aspects whereas criminal choice is about financial options and could be considered as being extrinsically motivating.

The relationship of the 'difficulty stopping' items and ability occurring with self-esteem suggest that for a group of offenders

who may gain self-esteem through crime, this may be difficult to give up. Whether this could have transference value to other situations may depend on the perception that this group has about achieving in a conventional sense. They may have picked themselves a task that is easy enough to accomplish. The relationship found between 'easy way' and self esteem is suggestive of this. However, the perception of ability may not extend into feeling a sense of achievement, an item that was not frequently considered as contributing to involvement in crime. Nevertheless, this sense of confidence about having the ability to do crime may integrate with the excitement it generates and create a sense of invulnerability (e.g. trusting others, things for self).

These results on self-esteem would support the hypotheses proposed by Rosenberg & Rosenberg (1978). Their suggestion of mechanisms for forming self-esteem through delinquency is by gaining of status with delinquent peers, an aspect that also appears as part of compulsion. The results of this study would suggest a more direct link, the offenders own perception of their criminal abilities leading to self-esteem. In qualifying this statement, the relationship between situational response and self-esteem suggest their are other mechanisms which maintain a positive sense of self in light of negative behaviours.

In considering the ability item, it may also be a central link with criminal choice suggesting why there is a strong correlation between these two factors. They occur together over 50% of the time. Compulsion may act independently or have interactive

effects with criminal choice in creating a vulnerability for long term offending but there was no interactive effect for the frequency of offending.

In looking at the relationship of compulsion with the desistence factors, crime hassles appears as the significant relationship. There are aspects of crime hassles that are the antithesis of compulsion items (i.e. trusting others and not trusting others) which might suggest that there is a learning by experience. However, when individual items were explored those that were related to the compulsion were 'police' and 'parental response' while 'losing friends' was not likely to be a consideration.

The desistence questionnaire appears not to cover areas of vulnerability for the compulsion factor. In looking at changing compulsion, aspects that appear as relevant is having alternative sources of excitement and confidence in employment options.

Situational Response

In considering the makeup of this factor, the relationship it has with the desistence factors and self-esteem, it appears as the most prosocial and adaptive. It is the type of rationale which suggests the most potential for going down a path that leads away from crime **if** the social forces are not too strong.

The situational response rationale may be the most difficult to predict who would desist from crime or may appear as part of the process of 'going straight'. There may also be continuity of not

coping with a stressful relationship with their parents to reacting to relationship stress with their partner, wife.

Perhaps those who form justifications for their behaviour may react to interpersonal stress in a criminal manner. It may have to do with whether they consider themselves to be within the boundaries of behaviour that they consider acceptable (Agnew and Peters 1986). Gilligan's (1982) suggestion of moral orientation may be appropriate. Gilligan suggested that there are two orientations to morality, caring and justice, and that there would be gender differences in orientation, caring for females, justice for males. The construction of this factor, it's relationship with social support and social interest aspects of the affectometer, and the relationship with the bonding and coping and social disapproval factors sugests that the two orientations are dichotomies within the situational response rationale. There may be a sense of caring for their family (children and partner) but a sense of injustice within the wider social context.

From Damon and Hart's (1988 from Harter 1990) perspective, offenders may be developmentally delayed in adopting an internalised set of beliefs and standards and may rely more on social comparison, social simularities and behaviours that enhance social appeal. They suggest that a low level of personal understanding may be more predictive of delinquency than low self-esteem. It is also possible that this low level of personal understanding and values may also lead to greater vulnerability to interpersonal stress. The direction in which cognition and offending behaviour is most likely to occur, as suggested by

Damon and Hart's perspective, is for a social comparative orientation to occur before criminal behaviour rather than cognitions being formed afterwards as justifications.

It is worth noting that the view of self as individual is a notion rooted in Western culture. It may be that Maori are more prone to interpersonal stress because they perceive of their identity as being group based and that they may not be fufiling their obligations to their whanau.

It is also interesting that self-esteem appears to be maintained by creating a positive sense of self despite negative behaviours. The mechanisms suggested for protecting self-esteem are: 1) seeing criminal behaviour as temporary and not a 'true' reflection of their nature; and 2) within the bounds of what could be considered 'reasonable' according to the circumstances (e.g the items of relevance were 'no other way' and 'not having anything').

Damon and Hart suggest that there are difficulties moving to a higher level of self-understanding because of the possibility of social rejection. In light of the prosocial nature of the situational response rationale, this is a reasonable proposition. However, the results with self-esteem also suggest a re-evaluation of self and the creation of cognitive dissonance if there is an acceptance of harm done to others and responsibility for criminal actions.

On the more positive side, those with a situation response rationale have a greater sense of wellbeing than what is found for the other rationales. There was not just a positive relationship

with self esteem but also with self-efficacy, social support and social interest. They may tend to see their criminal behaviour as a response to the outside environment and not to their abilities to find employment or relate to other people. This proposition may be supported by the findings of Homant and Dean (1988). They found that high self-esteem was associated with higher career maturity regardless of the amount of prisonization. High self esteem and low prisonization were both found to correlate significantly with higher scores on job planning and job attitudes. Whether the world view (e.g. unjust society, people lacking honesty) that is part of situational response is suggestive of a vulnerability to offending even when employed is worth consideration.

The irony is that those with a situational response rationale tend not to plan when they get involved in criminal behaviour. This may suggest that at that point in time, they did not care about themselves or whether they got caught. The question is whether this is the product of cumulative stress or there are particular types of situations that are going to create a criminal response. The particular situation that seemed most salient while researching was the fight with the wife about their financial situation and a demand to 'do something about it now'.

The aim of a more general approach to handling stress is about creating positive coping. From past research (see Everley, 1989) there appears to be no one best stress intervention technique. Thus, programmes are designed to increase the repertoire of skills that may be used for stress management. Meichebahm's

(1985) "stress inoculation training" (SIT) paradigm, is a multi-faceted treatment strategy which includes "socratic discussion, cognitive restructuring, problem solving, relaxation training, behavioural and imaginal rehearsal, self-monitoring, self-instruction, self re-inforcement and efforts at environmental change." This type of program offers flexibility by providing a variety of ways of coping with stressful situations. (p. 21, Meichenbaum, 1985 from Everly,1989) The techniques taught can be divided along three dimensions (Everett, 1989):

1) Strategies that are directed toward modification, avoidance, or minimisation of the impact of the stressor or cognitive activity, leading to the belief that the stressor can be controlled. These include cognitive restructuring, time management, goal setting, problem solving, gaining more sensitivity to bodily needs and rhythms (sleep, diet) and communications training.

2) Strategies to reduce excessive bodily arousal and target organ reactivity. These include muscle relaxation, meditation, deep breathing techniques, mental imagery and progressive relaxation.

3) Strategies to express or ventilate the stress response. These include physical exercise and emotional catharsis.

Pennebaker (from Stirling, *The listener,* April 9-15th, 1994) emphasizes disclosure and a working through problems as being on the cutting edge of stress management. Inhibition appears unhealthy for the immune system. It can suggest a lack of tolerance for negative experiences and an inability to discuss serious matters such as sexual trauma or any kind or family conflict, for example. Pennebaker suggest that we are all capable of writing or talking about our deepest thoughts and feelings.

Studying those who have done so, there have been reductions in ill-health and low-level thinking which characterises people blocking out stressful thoughts. "When people don't have control over a situation...they move to low level thinking. Pennebaker suspects that jogging provides 'an efficient way to get stupid; i.e. to move to a lower level of thinking', because it's impossible to concentrate on any thought for more than a few seconds. People exercise less after disclosure. Jogging is, of course, a healthier way of getting happy and stupid than using alcohol or other addictions...and other forms of mental 'scotch tape', says Pennebaker. But talking to someone you trust or writing your thoughts is smarter" (Stirling, *The listener,* April 9-15th, 1994:23)

Stress management is a compilation of reducing unnecessary stress and perceiving the handling of stressful situations as a challenge, developing towards a 'hardy personality style' which has been identified as a source of resistance to the negative effects of stressful life events (Kobasa and Puccetti, 1983). Hardiness is presented as a constellation of three crucial personality characteristics - commitment, challenge and control. "Persons high in hardiness easily commit themselves to what they are doing (rather than feeling alienated), generally believe that they can partially control events (rather than feeling powerless) and regard change to be a normal challenge or impetus to development (rather than a threat)....Coping for them involves turning stressful events into possibilities and opportunities for their personal development and that of others around them" (p. 840).

Planning

The planning factor shows a compilation of items to do with prior planning and not using drugs and alcohol to cloud judgement. The item on 'not affecting the victim' also loaded onto this factor. There are two possible interpretations of the compilation of these factors. The first is that those who consider taking care of themselves also consider others more carefully. The second is that those who have planned more carefully have chosen commercial or 'rich' targets for whom it might be possible to neutralise consideration of their victims more easily.

However, when questioned about the choice of victims, participants tended to choice from a rational choice approach (i.e. ease of access and security measures) rather than because there was any understanding of the internal practises of that particular business and how ethical their business practices were. There appeared to be a negative stereotype of businesses and consideration of their lack of social conscience.

The significant correlations that occured for planning were with the high recidivism/high planning group and a negative correlation with the "employment' item on the desistence questionnaire. The 'plans' item was significantly related to recidivism, the direction of importance being towards high recidivism, and there was a positive correlation with the 'social interest' measure on the affectometer.

These results suggest that the perception of planning is more likely to occur with those who have clearly rejected the work option and may clearly perceive that there choice is to be involved in crime.

5.2 *REASONS FOR DESISTING*

In looking at past research and theorising on reasons for giving up crime, there appears to be three themes - social control, deterrence and weighing up the worth. The factors formed through factor analysis reflect these themes, the social bonding construct appearing in two factors, 'bonding and coping' and 'social disapproval'.

Bonding and Coping

The name of this factor reflects the two aspects which appear together. Bonding is seen by the support experienced from the family and a desire to maintain these relationships. Coping is seen as the desire to gain employment and manage debt although there is the possibility of other items also capturing this aspect (e.g. qualifications, dealing with other problems such as drugs). In considering the direction in which these elements appear, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) propose that a lack of bonding creates a lack of attachment to conventional goals, but with maturity and the formation of their own family bonds there is also going to be a desire to achieve conventional goals.
Jungar-Tas (1992:11) summarise social control theory as:
-the more a person is attached to conventional significant others,

-the more s/he is committed to the values of conventional systems,
-the more s/he is involved in those systems, and
-the more s/he believes in conventional values and norms,
-the more conforming and the less delinquent this behaviour will be.

The conventional significant others can be peers (Hindelang 1973) or spouse. Sampson and Laub (1990) found differences in offending related to marital stability and the offending history of the spouse. They also found that the stability of employment inhibited criminal behaviour.

Few would argue about employment inhibiting criminal behaviour. This was the most frequently mentioned item as a possible reason for desisting from crime by participants in this study. Yet Homant (1988) reviews studies which have found that creating employment for offenders in general may not reduce the rate of re-offending. The research that he performed found that those obtaining employment had higher self-esteem and lower levels of prisonization. There was therefore some self-selection of those who did and did not obtain employment.

Yet the bonding and coping factor did not correlate significantly with self-esteem or self-efficacy. There was one significant relationship found between the 'employment' item and self-efficacy. It may be that those who seek employment are wider than the group that achieve this.

In looking at the frequencies of responses reported by participants, all the items from bonding and coping were considered important by over 60% of the participants. The same themes also appeared as prominent in the consideration of the more important reasons for stopping, the meeting of needs also included gaining skills and getting help with underlying problems (usually drugs). These emphasis on meeting needs and family bonds was most salient and most significant for participants in this study. The desire to meet their own needs may be experienced more widely than what is achieved. This may depend on the skill levels for obtaining and maintaining employment as well as the availability of work.

From the makeup of this item, it would also appear that those desiring employment are likely to have stronger family bonds. This is reflected in the relationship found between social support on the affectometer. There also appears to be a sense of optimism for those with a coping and bonding rationale.The strength of the relationship between the affectometer and coping and bonding suggests that this type of rationale is most conducive with having a sense of wellbeing.

In considering the relationship of coping and bonding with recidivism and lambda, there is no clear relationship found, just a slight tendency for the low lambda groups to show a positive relationship and the high lambda groups to show a positive relationship with this factor. These result suggests that this rationale is not the domain of those high or low in offending behaviour but may occur at any time in the offending career. In

looking at the strength of the relationship with the situational response factor, coping and bonding's appearance may depend more on the rationale for involvement and the present family circumstances of the offender.

Social Disapproval

In contrast with the positive aspects towards prosocial behaviour found in the bonding and coping factor, the social disapproval factor concentrates on the negative social outcomes found in criminal behaviour. These negative aspects may deter criminal behaviour but whether positive coping occurs may depend on it's co-occurrence with bonding and coping.

In considering whether social disapproval controls criminal behaviour, it may depend on the form in which it comes.
If experienced in the excess, it may actually create the opposite to the desired behaviour - rebellion. Whether social disapproval would then be considered as a reason for desisting is unlikely and there may be a disregard for the feedback given by others.

The affectometer measures that social disapproval appeared with were social support and optimism. This may may suggest that there is consideration of social disapproval when there is a feeling of support. It may be difficult to accept negative feedback if there is not a sense of the possible and a feeling of optimism.
A long string of negative feedback is likely in the etiology of an 'over-protective' personality.

The past history of support and experiencing disapproval also appears to reflect a willingness to receive support from the system-social workers or probation officers. It may suggest that a discussion of past experiences of disapproval and receiving feedback, may be appropriate for those for whom it is difficult forming a relationship with. A strategy for change may be that they have listened too much to what others have thought about them and that the need to develop internal appraisal of their behaviour and to evaluate feedback more carefully.

Another possibility to explore is that even though there may be a desire to not receive feedback on negative behaviour, there may still be a desire to achieve positively valued goals such as forming a relationship and employment. The coping and bonding and social disapproval factors only occured together about 50% of the time.

The source of the disapproval may also be important and whether this is the family of origin or their own family, girlfriend. Unfortunately, these two aspects were not separated in the questionnaire clearly. However 'Parental response' was mentioned considerably less than the 'family disapproval' item. The 'parental response' factor's lower frequency may have been due to a lack of parental supervision, the age of the participants, or a lack of concern with their feedback by the participants.

Situational response factor also positively interacted with this factor suggesting that those who are stressed when they get involved in crime, their family may not consider this appropriate behaviour and one that may interfere with their future.

Social disapproval may also interact with the internal experience of shame, the item Liebrich (1993) found was most frequently mentioned by her group of what appear as more moderate offenders than this present study. From her interviews of forty eight randomly selected former offenders, 19 mentioned shame as a reason for desisting from crime of which 17 had not continued their criminal involvement.

In looking at the relationship that social disapproval has with recidivism and lambda, there was no relationship found with recidivism and significant relationships with lambda. Those high in lambda were not inclined to consider social disapproval while those low in lambda considered this a significant deterrent.

Those high in lambda may either discount social disapproval or be involved in a criminal social milieu that does not give negative feedback. However, there was no significant negative correlations with the involvement factors or with items such as 'social life', the negative correlations occurring were with 'financial choice' and 'supplying'. This offers few clues to the prominence of any underlying mechanism, only that social disapproval is likely to be neutralised when crime is accepted as the 'financial choice'.

The other view that may be useful in considering the result with lambda is of restrictive deterrence (Gibbs 1975 from Paternoster 1989). Consideration is given to whether something effectively deters involvement in crime (absolute deterrence) but also whether it may effect the rate at which offending occurs

(restrictive deterrents). The results found with bonding and coping, social disapproval and deterrence suggest that they may all have an effect on the frequency with which offending occurs, and that this relationship is strongest for social disapproval.

Looking at the effectiveness of informal sanctions (disapproval of family, community or employer) as an absolute deterrent (in this case, deterring from re-offending), Paternoster, Saltzman, Waldo & Chiricos (1983 from Moffitt 1993) found that a prospective index of informal was the best predictor of non-involvement in crime (r=-.40) in a one year follow up of 300 young adults. This outdid commitment costs (r=-.23), gender, perceived risk of arrest, grade point average, and peer attachment.

Deterrence

The deterrence factor is composed of the items that consider formal sanctions against offending and it's consequences (labelling) as well as long term financial considerations. Perhaps the occurrence of these items together reflect an ability to consider the future. The protracted nature of modern criminal systems often mean that it is along time between getting caught for an offence and having to face the formal consequences of these actions.

The relationship that has been found between the low recidivism/low lambda group and deterrence suggests it's applicability to these low rate offenders. there was a tendency for

those who considered deterrence to consider that there life was on the right track (confluence on the affectometer).

The impression gained during interviewing was that there was a group of offenders who found getting caught and going through the justice system a traumatic experience. Liebrich (1993) gives a more detailed description of the trauma experienced. In placing this within context, she comments:

> "Although for a few people the shock of being caught was extremely punishing, this was mainly connected with the time spent in the police cell. Most of the punishment they experienced was self-administered - through a sense of shame." (p.74)

Separately, for both recidivism and lambda, the deterrence factor showed a non- significant positive relationship at the bottom end of the scale and a negative relationship occurring at the top end of the scale. It seems that those who are involved in crime more seriously are less inclined to be deterred by formal sanctions. This is reflected in the significant negative relationship found with criminal choice. During the course of the research, it appeared that there were definite cognitive strategies used to minimise the negative consequences of crime. Comments such as "If you do the crime, you do the time" appeared frequently. In taking a rational choice perspective on criminal choice, offenders may be encouraged to look more closely at these negative consequences.

Crime Hassles

In looking at reason why career criminals had decided to desist from crime both studies in this area have considered that at the time they give up crime, there was a re-evalution of how worthwhile crime had been and a realisation that they were getting old, had achieved nothing and had no financial or relationship security if they continued in crime (Shover 1983; Gibbons and Jolin 1987). It was proposed that this would be a major consideration for the more persistent offenders (hypothesis 12). Instead, it was found that those who had just started their formal involvement with crime had not thought about this. There was also a non-significant tendency for high frequency offenders to consider the hassles involved in crime compared to the negative relationships found with infrequent offenders.

This seemed to be a consideration of a large group of offenders, secrecy and not trusting others was mentioned by over 60% of the participants. This factor also appeared as a consideration for the three main involvement factors, criminal choice, compulsion and situational response. The items of particular relevance for the criminal choice factor were police and secrecy. For those with the criminal choice rational they may have tended to neutralise possible formal sanctions but the day to day concern with risk may be more difficult to ignore.

Again, optimism appeared as a measure of wellbeing that was applicable to consideration of negative consequences and possible

deterrents form crime. In this case, crime hassles. Optimism is the antithesis of helplessness. The other wellbeing measure that appeared was thought clarity and it's relationship was most clearly defined with the items 'financially unrewarding' and 'not trusting others.'

In considering the potential influence that crime hassles may have on stopping offending, the scales may need to be clearly tipped in the direction of finding the lifestyle negative. Liebrich (1993) research found that some of these factors that appear in crime hassles were considering in the process of going straight. For example, less hassle with the police was mentioned by 7 out of the 48 participants. Looking at the wider context of their lives Liebrich (1993: 212) comments:

> "At some point in their offending career, people appear to weigh up the relative costs and benefits of offending and going straight. There were many instances of such spontaneous reckonings. perhaps it is only when the balance sheet declares going straight to be the better option, that the decision to change takes place."

Whether this is an effective deterrent is seen in terms of 'balancing the scales' or a rational choice perspective. It however, does not appear in the light of a relative deterrent (Gibbs 1975 from Paternoster 1989) but rather as one that seems more applicable to high rate offenders. Whether the pathway that leads away from offending is therefore going to be easy is a question that arises and consideration needs to be given to the 'at risk' situations that may make this process a difficult one.

5.3 *ETHNIC DIFFERENCES*

Maori Differences

In looking at the hypotheses formed for the Maori, it seems that the issues raised are peripheral to the central differences between the cultures. That is, the people orientated nature of Maori culture. The relationship between the high recidivism Maori group and the situational response factor may be indicative that interpersonal stress becomes a more predominant problem with age, possibly as family commitments grow. It is difficult for this result with recidivism to not pre-empt the analysis with age and the following analysis is suggestive of the kinds of patterns that might appear.

The results found by Lovell and Norriss (1990) where Maori offenders were younger in age is suggestive of the strength of these social bonds and the desire to meet family needs. In 1990, the percentage of Maori appearing in the Youth Court was 51% while the percentage of Maori appearing in District and Trial courts was 38% and 36% showing a drop in the proportion of Maori appearing as age increases (i.e. over sixteen.years old). It may be that the age-crime curve has a tendency to peak at a younger age for Maori and to decline more sharply thereafter. Lovell and Norriss (1990) suggest targeting younger Maori offenders. This seems a sensible strategy especially in light of the findings that the younger an offender is involved in crime, the more likely they are to become a persistent offender.

Maori men may not perceive of their role in the family as purely bread winner and may be more responsive to the kinds of stress that there family is experiencing. The socialisation of Maori has traditionally involved the use of older siblings (e.g. Henare 1988), whether they are male and female, as caretakers of the young, and this may create a broader perspective of the male role than that created by Pakeha socialisation. However, the perception of what this may mean in terms of parenting skills and relationship skills may be clouded by acculturalisation. There is little doubt that many Maori families are in crisis. Ritchie and Ritchie (1989) comment:

> "Generally speaking, childhood is harsh where mothers are required to perform both economic and domestic roles, where they have considerable responsibility for their children's conduct and its consequences, and especially, as in housing shared by a number of families, where behaviour is under close scrutiny (Segall 1983). Conditions similar to this occur with high frequency among Polynesian immigrants to urban areas. For example, in our general study of child-rearing patterns in New Zealand (Ritchie and Ritchie 1970), the group of mothers under the greatest stress were Maori migrants living in a small rural town. Their attitudes to nakedness, modesty, and sexuality were highly puritanical. Their scheduling of infant feeding was rigid, they punished harshly for toilet training accidents, shouted at and scolded children frequently, used a good deal of physical punishment, and kept children under close supervision. There was not much that resembled indulgence. The sensitivity of these mothers to community opinion forced them to adopt a stark stereotype of the Western model of child rearing-a kind of tragic caricature" (p. 122)

Even though peer socialisation may remain a central structural feature of Maori culture, the school system and perception of these groups as potentially delinquent, may mean that this is not as strong a social structure as what it traditionally has been. "Where communities are unable to provide the urban equivalent of peer socialisation, the result is often severe generational conflict within Polynesian families. Children may accuse their parents of not doing their jobs properly, and parents may become befuddled about their proper roles, unaware that in traditional settings it is Polynesian children who produce Polynesian children, not Polynesian parents" (Ritchie and Ritchie 1989:123)

Not only is it culturally appropriate to study Maori men within the context of their whanau but important for understanding their relationship with crime. It may be that the forces that shape Maori offending are also more conducive to pulling families apart. A Maori ex-offender, Alan Te Wake(Metro, August 1992:55) comments "Most of the Maori boys I know have left their families a long time ago so they're on their own....whereas the Pakeha boys who are in jail still have that family link...whanau family support is there more for Pakeha than it is for Maori. I don't know why, but it is."

If heavier involvement in crime is more the product of compulsion rather than seen as a way of coping financially (criminal choice), Maori criminal involvement may be more prone to being perceived as a sign of immaturity. Maori also appear to be more affected by the pressure of 'not having anything', as a part of criminal choice, rather than motivated by 'positive' financial

rewards. This may translate into having a more realistic appraisal of the returns from crime. This sense of hopelessness may be more difficult for a family to cope with. It seemed that the trend in the recidivism groups was for 'bonding and coping' and social disapproval to be less positive for Maori high in recidivism compared to Maori low in recidivism, a reverse of the trend found for the Pakeha.

This element of compulsion and sense of helplessness may also impact on the way that they are perceived by the justice system. This may create the image of being more incorrigible than Pakeha, possibly affecting their entry into the justice system and the subsequent sentences imposed.

Maori high in recidivism do tend to consider social injustice more, but not significantly more than Pakeha (redistributing wealth, unjust society). Instead 'unjust society' was more applicable to the Maori high recidivism group than the Maori low recidivism group. Perhaps Maori who are low in recidivism are young enough not to have experienced injustice directly or there is a tendency for those low in recidivism to wish to escape from the image of Maori being bitter.

The formation of these differences may be due to injustice experienced or may be culturally based. Traditionally Polynesian based cultures have been based on sharing, a Maori chief may have more mana in the eyes of his people if he shares his material resources. For example, James Henare (1988) comments that even though his father had been successful and a politician, he died

poor. Although the ideal of community based sharing may not always be embodied, it may still be an important part of Maori psyche. 'Redistributing wealth' appeared as an item of significance with it's relationship to Maori ethnicity.

One of the intentions of the 'people lacking honesty' item was to gauge the extent that past injustice may have had on Maori. Although there was some confounding over past and present, the question about the Maori past was asked first and there appeared to be only two participants who considered this element as important.

In countering the social comparative rationale, there are more constructive and successful ways of creating social equity. It may be more culturally appropriate for Maori to consider the impact on the whole family rather than to emphasize an individual set of values. Crime seems to exacerbate social inequity leaving families as poorer in terms of human and financial resources.

Possibly though, many Maori may have few resources upon which to fall back on in a time of crisis. If these young men are alienated from their extended family or the extended family has few financial resources themselves, they may no means of coping with a financial crisis. It may be possible for Maori to create a better support network for young families. Organisations such as Kohunga reo already provide social support and communal child rearing that reflect Maori tradition. However, there may also be a need for financial support in crisis times and ways in which this

could happen that were empowering for those who receive the support.

Consideration of the item on the 'victim deserving it' correlating significantly with Maori ethnicity may suggest that Maori are more frequently in situations were someone is provoking them.

Group dynamics seems like a useful place for considering the role of compulsion for Maori. The items of significance for Maori high in lambda were: good stories, trusting others, excitement and ability. There may be a sense of confidence about being able to be successful in crime which does not exist in other areas of life. This confidence may be conducive to experiencing crime in a positive fashion (excitement). The role of others can be seen in the trust that Maori are more inclined to have in their co-offenders and having good stories to tell may suggest that this is perceived to be acceptable behaviour within their peer group and that they will also be able to elevate their sense of esteem through status with peers. Peer influence appeared as an item related to ethnicity.

On the opposite side of the coin, it does not seem that these expectations may be fulfilled and Maori more commonly report that not being able to trust others is a hassle experienced with crime. Hopefully this piece of wisdom will help create an ability to think for themselves and not be prone to group forces. In not leaving these aspects to chance and direct learning, it may be possible to teach group decision making processes and how these processes may create less than ideal decisions. It also seems that trust is a central issue when considering group dynamics, it is the

item on peers that appears most frequently. Creating a sense of mistrust about co-offenders may be a useful strategy for change. McLaren (1992) notes that increasing the cohesiveness of delinquent peer groups has been found to be an ineffective means of reducing re-offending.

In considering the role of social disapproval and the strength of this relationship with Maori, it appears that there is an awareness of little support for criminal behaviour within the wider family and social context. In fact, for some this may contrast with the perceived acceptance of such behaviour within the peer group. The interesting result finding that frequent Maori offenders found family disapproval as more important than frequent Pakeha offenders may also suggest that this is not purely a prosocial force. It may be that the concern experienced by Maori about their children becoming criminal places to much pressure on their youth. From a neuro-linguist programming perspective, statements such as "If you continue in this manner, you are going to end up criminal" may create a negative self image and become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The other view of these dynamics is that of forging a separate identity from parents. It is also possible for older offenders to experience more disapproval from their partner. In looking at the role of social disapproval for Maori low in lambda, this was more widely based than the family and related to the whole social disapproval factor. This may include their friends as well.

Pakeha Differences

The role that social disapproval does not play in the rationale for desistence of frequent Pakeha offenders may suggest that they have rejected prosocial goals and/or the social milieu in which they exist perceives crime as an acceptable form of behaviour. The perception of some Pakeha offenders may be that their family can cope without them while they are in jail and that they are accepting responsibility by joining the 'alternative' economy and providing for their family. Family disapproval, as a reason for desistence, correlates negatively with criminal choice. However, whether this is a reality for the families involved may be questionable, the stress placed on the wife may be unacceptable to her.

This interpretation seems quite logical yet the relationship of social disapproval with the Pakeha recidivism groups suggests that those high in recidivism are more neutral in their relationship with social disapproval. It may be that those high in recidivism experience more social disapproval or that there is a growing awareness of this aspect with time. There is also a trend for bonding and coping to show a more positive relationship as recidivism increases for Pakeha. It may be that relationships are more likely to stay together for Pakeha and a growing awareness by many offenders of their families needs makes crime a less attractive proposition.

An interesting aspect to Pakeha offending was that expecting a child seemed to be a stage in life where they were vulnerable to

criminal involvement. Nine out of the eleven offenders who were expecting a child were Pakeha (9% of the Pakeha, 5% of Maori). For some, this meant that they had a family to provide for and they perceived that they had little to offer materially. In this way strain theory, which appears more applicable to Pakeha generally, explains why having a child and the subsequent financial demands may place young Pakeha men (especially) at risk.

5.4 *LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH*

In deciding on priorities for time management, gaining enough participants for factor analysis and forming comparisons across demographic groups was a priority. It was decided to take an exploratory approach to the formation of the questionnaires which were only tested briefly. As a consequence, the questionnaires, and particularly the desistence questionnaire, was not as fully developed as it may have been.

There was some regret about phrasing and confounding of individual items. The items of particular concern were 'achievement' and 'appearance'. There was also a of items that experienced some confounding by their phrasing (people lacking honesty, family needs, losing family) but the key words capture the responses of the participants virtually all of the time. The grouping together of alcohol and drugs was also unfortunate.

In considering how to develop the questionnaires further, consideration may need to be given to the range of criminological theories covered and those items that participants have mentioned

as important omissions (e.g. shame). Using offender accounts as a starting point was to some extent ad hoc and there was an emphasis on rational choice because of the utilitarian nature of property crime. Therefore, the present study has limitations in it's integrative theoretical approach.

Another measurement area that created some confounding was the measure of lambda and having a ceiling of 99.

In administering the questionnaire, one of the major difficulties encountered was the wide fluctuations in the amount of time that it took. This ranged from three quarter of an hour to two hours. It created some difficulties in trying to fit into the institutional life of the prisons and periodic detention centres. Those who took longer either found it difficult to understand the questionnaire, wanted to be certain that they had covered every aspect, or found it emotionally difficult to answer.

A few complained about the impression created by giving ratings and 'becoming a statistic'. This undesirable impression may to some extent be countered by interspersing more open-ended questions that allow an offender to explain themselves in their own terms.

Ways in which some of these difficulties could be overcome could be by taking a more structured approach to the formation of a questionnaires. Items on this questionnaire were mixed for positive and negative affect and there were some areas were the same theme was covered. Participants were informed that it was

about involvement (how and why) and desistence. Topics could be more carefully organised and more fully explained at the beginning of the questionnaire so that the participant can organise their thoughts accordingly.

Looking at the measurement scale, it may be possible to include the 'didn't know' and 'didn't think about it' options in the importance scale thus making it clearly a single construct. Also for further research the length of the likert scale should be considered. The present scale of 1 to 5 was not long enough, especially for the desistence questionnaire, where a lot of the items were considered important by a majority of offenders.

In considering how to improve research for Maori, using a Maori interviewer may have helped in some of the areas that were culturally sensitive (e.g. considering social injustice). There may have been a reluctance in admitting to a Pakeha women feelings of social injustice. The cultural identity questionnaire could be improved by more clearly specifying what was meant by values and lifestyle as well as consideration of using the term Pakeha to describe white New Zealanders, a term that many offenders did not identify with. In considering how to create more culturally sensitive and relevant research, Ritchie (1992) suggests including Maori in every aspect of the research, from initial planning through to interpretation.

Another possible improvement is in the follow-up procedures. It was left to the researcher to decide upon who should be referred through to counselling services. In consideration of the time that

had been given up by participants and the intimacy of the questionnaire, this should have been standard procedure. All participants should have asked if they wanted to be referred to counselling services to deal with any issues that had arisen during the interview. Liebrich (1993), in her study on offenders who were going straight, kept participants informed about the progress of the study by sending out three monthly news letters. This seems like a useful way of ensuring that participants feel that their contributions are useful and appreciated.

In seems difficult to explain why it was so difficult obtaining a large enough sample. This is especially true of those on the community based sentences where the figures for property offenders on supervision of periodic detention would suggest an abundance of possible participants. In 1990, there was about 510 property offenders on community based sentences in Christchurch. Doing some rough estimates by adjusting this figure to fit the criteria used for selecting participants (those who had not gone to jail; the age range), the length of time over which participants were sought, the length of sentences, false negatives (those deleted because of insufficient information), those who didn't turn up or who were too far away (long distances from the city on periodic detention), the range of available participants appeared to be between twenty to fifty. These figures suggest that the expectation that there would be an abundance of subjects was overly optimistic.

In hindsight, loosening the criteria on interviewing community based offenders may have solved some of the problems with

finding offenders. Those who had gone to prison were generally habitual re-offenders or charged with a violent offence at the same time. The majority of offenders were likely to be on community based sentences in line with departmental policy on using prison as a last resort or for violent offending. There was a reluctance to tap community based sources because they are not designed to have researchers in and because those in prison were captive.

5.5 *RESEARCH DIRECTIONS*

The fruitfulness of this research in being able to distinguish rationales is surprising considering that the numbers used were marginal for factor analysis. The same can be said in relation to the ethnic differences with the group of Maori being small and living in Christchurch. In consideration of this, it may be wise to replicate this study taking into consideration some of the design weaknesses or expand on the present data base.

As a research technique, the fruitful results speak for themselves. It may be possible to use this technique for other types of crime, ethnic groups and women. Because the numbers were marginal for factor analysis, it was decided to concentrate on male offenders. Women are an important group that deserve to be studied on their own.

In considering the interpretation of results for ethnicity, there was a fair amount of speculation about the role that men may have

within their families, how this role is perceived by their family, how their criminal involvement is perceived, and whether Maori offenders were more prone to family division than what Pakeha offenders are. It is culturally appropriate to study Maori within the wider social context of their whanau and may produce some interesting information for both ethnic groups. In considering the interpretation of the ethnic/recidivism group there was also speculation about the underlying construct of age. They certainly covaried, the Maori low recidivism groups mean age was 17.4 years and the Maori high recidivism groups mean age was 23.5 years. For the Pakeha, the mean age of the low recidivism group was 20 years and the mean age of the high recidivism group was 22.8 years. The future developmental analysis were age is measured directly as a variable will provide a better, more direct measure of what changes are likely with age.

In looking at property offending, an important goal is the development of a measurement instrument to be used in assessment of offenders and gauging the success of rehabilitation programs. At the moment the main measurement used for gauging success is re-offending. This is a long-term measure and their appears to be a need for an interim measure. The kind of feedback is also different and would give more specific information about what has and has not been addressed in the treatment program.

In terms of short range goals, looking at how rationale changes developmentally is the next step. The central role that burglary may have in a persistent offenders' offending careers

(Le Blanc and Frechette 1989, Farrington 1992a) seems to make property offending a strategic place to start examining offending rationality in it's developmental context. It seems that burglary may occur over a longer duration than what other offences do (Le Blanc and Frechette 1989), it is the crime that is most likely to be appear as part of the crime mix for persistent offenders (Le Blanc and Frechette 1989, Farrington 1992a) and that an onset of burglary or theft was predictive of persistence in offending (Farrington 1992a).

Dynamics central to developmental psychology, consistency and change, provide a framework for considering possible developmental pathways. In considering consistency of rationality toward property offending, a particular emphasis may be predominant (i.e. criminal choice, situational response) which is likely to develop in a particular way for continuing offenders. Or there may be a change in rationality, perhaps from a criminal choice to a situational response perspective, which is consistent with developmental demands.

Another possibility to viewing the development of rationality is from an ill-formed state to a more carefully constructed rational that justifies offending. Ross, Fabiano and Ewles (1988) note that the cognitive style of offenders is "concretistic, action orientated, non-reflective and impulsive." Development from adolescence to adulthood could see a shift from a non-reflective impulsive act to a more constructed rationality for offending. Walters's (1990), in his outline of the 'lifestyle' criminal, that small subset of criminals who keep offending well past the age where most offenders have

stopped, considers how rationality may evolve. He contrasts his approach with a lifescript that is formed before the complexities of the world are able to be grasped.

In considering the continuum of offending involvement, there appears to be three main patterns that could be used to form a useful classification systems: 1) Those who are involved minimally in offending, most of whom are at a relatively young age; 2) Persistent offenders who desist at a developmentally normal pace; 3) Persistent offenders who begin offending earlier and continue offending past an age where most offenders have refrained. Moffitt (1993) would suggest that the latter group, life-course-persistent offenders, are less likely to be responsive to reinforcement and punishment contingencies and that there is a need to study the differences within this group from the earliest possible stage. Adding an offender's perspective to longitudinal research may be a useful endeavour although there may an ethical dilemma concerning intervention and dealing with vulnerabilities that may continue victimising behaviour. The cross-sectional design of this current study only allows for the projection of possible developmental pathways.

5.6 *SUMMARY*

In considering an integrated perspective for theory building, Walters (1990) compared the formation of individual theories in isolation as the story of the blind men who came across an elephant. Depending on which part of the anatomy they came across first, this is how they described the elephant.

"Thus, one man held the squirming trunk in his hand and deduced that the elephant was much like a snake, while a second man felt the smooth, pointed tusk and deduced that is was much like a spear. The other four men approached the ear, leg, side and tail and concluded that the elephant resembled a fan, tree, wall and wall, respectively" (p.48). Using factor analysis to probe the common experiences of offenders' construction of reality, pieces of the jigsaw have been pieced together to give a more realistic view of crime. Like the elephant, the puzzle has been three dimensional considering measures of offending behaviour, rationales for involvement and desistence and has the possibility of a fourth dimension, development over time.

The view proposed is a realistic view of the reasons for involvement and desistence from crime which fits with the complexity of human behaviour and nature. It considers the complex moral nature of human kind, the boundaries of prosocial forces such as employment, marriage and children, and, freewill and determinism.

Each of the involvement and desistence factors formed have offered a unique perspective for theory building and improving therapeutic interventions. Criminal choice has looked at criminal rational by combining rational choice, identity formation and strain theory (i.e. achieving desired financial goals). Compulsion has considered the role of excitement and gaining self-esteem through crime as re-inforces for compulsive behaviour. Situational response has considered financial and interpersonal stress as reasons for involvement and the role that being able to

justify criminal behaviour may also play in the vulnerability to re-offend. The formation of the planning factor has shown planning is mainly independent from the reasons for involvement. The results suggest that planning occurs more when work options are rejected.

'Bonding and coping' and social disapproval offer two dimensions to the social bonding perspective for desisting from crime (e.g. Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). The frequency with which bonding and coping items where mentioned shows the importance placed on this concept by offenders. The informal sanctions of crime, social disapproval, related to the frequency of criminal involvement suggesting that they may have restrict the amount of offending. The role that deterrence plays may be more limited to those who have not chosen to be involved in crime seriously. Crime hassles show that weighing up of the worth of crime was applicable to those with a criminal choice, compulsion and situational response vulnerability towards criminal behaviour.

The results with the affectometer highlight two mechanisms connected with self-esteem, the creation of self-esteem through crime and the maintenance of self-esteem. Self-esteem appeared to be maintained by considering criminal involvement as temporary and not central to a sense of self or within justifiable boundaries considering the circumstances. The findings of optimism and social support appearing with a number of desistence factors suggests their role in creating prosocial behaviour.

Looking at Maori and Pakeha differences, an analysis of the results has found differences in the rationale for involvement and desistence. Pakeha are more prone to the strain of not achieving culturally valued financial goals, Maori to the experience of not having anything. Maori appear as more vulnerable to peer pressure and appear as more compulsive in their criminal behaviour. Yet, at the same time, Maori experience higher levels of social disapproval and therefore the age-crime relationship may vary from that found in Pakeha. It may peak earlier and decline faster than the Pakeha curve as suggested by the results of Lovell and Norriss (1990).

The suggestions for preventing relapse of property offending include: 1) education about the costs of criminal behaviour, the lack of financial return and riskiness compared to other alternatives; 2) moderating the material aspirations of offenders; 3) increased sense of self efficacy in work and training situations; 4) creating a wider understanding of the concept of play, it's non-abusive boundaries and alternative sources of excitement; 5) modification of the social environment; 6) an understanding of group dynamics and an ability to be assertive with peers; 7) developing an internalised set of values rather than those based on social comparison; 8) identification of high risk situations and developing relapse prevention strategies; 9) dealing with relapse; and, 10) development of coping skills.

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In looking at the results formed by groups of offenders, a lot of individual detail is lost. The 'results' could be compared to a minimalist painting which has got to the 'essence of things' by painting primary colours in symmetrical shapes. It is not hard for me to remember that the creation of these statistics, the view of common experience, comes from the lives of the participants. All of whom had a story to tell. Without their willingness to be part of the study, it would not have been possible. I thank them for their willingness to rate this significant event (behaviour) on a scale

For many it was an emotionally demanding exercise requiring them to look at themselves carefully. For a substantial proportion of those separated from their partner and children, an examination of the costs and benefits of offending was emotionally painful. For others, the structured interview, the use of a likert scale were difficult cognitive tasks. The lack of thought about offending and the 'cliched' questions made it difficult for some and thought provoking for others. A number of questions reflected a stereo-type that younger participants appeared to be struggling to avoid. Even though there were these problems, many participants wanted to discuss their criminal involvement and their life. Many were articulate, desired to understand themselves and appeared to want a more positive lifestyle than they had at present. I hope that this was a helpful experience for participants in being able to clarify why they had got involved in crime.

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Appendix 1

CONSENT FORM

Reason for the project:
I am interested in what factors and situations affect both the decision to steal or the decision to refrain from stealing. This is of interest because it has been found that nearly everyone gives up property offending while they are young and this includes those who have been involved in offending over a number of years. I am interested in how thoughts may change and costs may change in relation to both age and the amount of involvement in property crimes.

Your tasks in this project:
I would be interested in talking to you about your property offences, offences that you have been involved with where you have taken money or property from someone else. I would like you to consider what factors may be involved in stopping you from offending as well as what you think you can gain from stealing. I will be asking you to rate a number of factors according to their importance in a one hour interview.

Risks Associated with Participation:
All information will be treated as totally confidential[1] between yourself and Ms Rosemary Guy. This information will be kept independent from the Prison and Justice Department records and staff. Results will be presented only in a group format.

Name of researcher: Rosemary Guy
I agree to keep all information confidential including your identity

Researcher:.....

I agree to participate in this study on the understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time if I wish. I understand that my participation in this study will not influence my treatment in the justice system in any way.(e.g. treatment in prison or prison term) and if I choose to withdraw from this study, this will not affect me in anyway.

Name: ..... **Signature:** ..... **Date:**.....

---

[1]The limits of confidentiality, doing serious harm to oneself or to others, were explained verbally.

Appendix 2: Open ended questions.

1) Why did you get involved in the property offence that you have been most recently convicted for?

2) What do you think are the three most important reasons for your recent involvement in property crime?

3) What do you think are the three biggest hassles with your involvement in property crimes (burglary, robbery, shoplifting, car theft)?

4) What do you think are the three most important reasons for desisting from property crime?

Appendix 3: The Involvement questionnaire. *

Key Words	Item Phrasing
ability	your ability in stealing
achievement	you feel good about stealing *"feeling a sense of achievement"*
alternative to work	you see theft as an alternative to work
appearance	your physical appearance *"either your physical appearance makes it difficult to give up crime or the way you look makes it easier to get away with crime."*
appearances	you wanted to keep up appearances for contacts
beating the system	this is your way of beating the system *"this is your way of winning"*
best way	this is the best way you have to make money
boredom	you were bored
buyer	you knew someone to sell the goods to
cash	you like to steal cash
chance of getting caught	you felt there was little chance of getting caught
checking risk	you check carefully that the job isn't too risky
commitment	you felt committed.....you said you'd do it
courage	having the courage
difficulty getting work	you think it's very difficult to get work
difficulty stopping (plural)	once you get into stealing you find it hard to stop
difficulty stopping (singular)	the difficulty stopping offending
drink/drugs for courage	you use drink or drugs for courage
drunk or "out of it"	you were drunk or "out of it" and didn't really know what you were doing
easy way	this is the easiest way you have of getting money
excitement	the excitement

* (Italics refers to verbal explanations frequently given)

Appendix 3: The Involvement questionnaire continued. *

Key Words	Item Phrasing
family needs	you thought carefully about how your family would feel, what they needed
financial choice	you steal because that's the way you make your money
financial gains	being able to get good money (for the goods you steal)
for a good time	you wanted to have a good time with the money
for bills	you needed money for bills
for drugs/ alcohol	you wanted money for drugs or alcohol
for woman	you like to have money for woman *"taking them out...."*
good stories	feeling that others are interested in your exploits *"having good stories to tell"*
just do it (plural)	you just go out and get involved in thefts
just do it (singular)	you just go out and do it
no other way	you couldn't get money any other way
not affecting victim	you thought it wouldn't affect the victim (E.g. they had insurance or were rich)
not considering consequences	you didn't think of the consequences
not having anything	Not having anything
peer influence	your mates asked you to, wanted you to
people lacking honesty	common cultural values *"This means that you think that this is the way life is, most people aren't very honest...*(and, if Maori they were asked first)...." *you see the Pakeha as having treated the Maori unfairly"*
plans	you have plans worked out and know what you are doing *"did you consider the plans you had made were sufficient at the time"*

* (Italics refers to verbal explanations frequently given)

Appendix 3: The Involvement questionnaire continued. *

Key Words	Item Phrasing
potential gains	the opportunity to make big money *"you have dreams about getting rich from crime"*
redistributing wealth	redistributing wealth.-.taking from the rich and giving to the poor *"You can count yourself as the poor"*
situation	the situation- for example, having a fight with your girlfriend, being in lots of debt...some stressful situation
social life	you like the social life
supplying	you were asked to supply particular goods
temptation	the situation was tempting -it looked easy
things for self	you look for things you'd like yourself *"not selling the things you steal but keeping them for yourself"*
trusting others	trusting others involved or whom you confide in
unhappy	you were feeling unhappy
unjust society	you feel that society is unjust *"people are treated differently, not fairly"*
upset	you were feeling upset
victim deserved it	you felt the victim/s deserved it anyway (e.g. idiots OR rich, had done something to you)
	Is there anything else that hasn't been mentioned that you think is important for getting you involved in offending?

* (Italics refers to verbal explanations frequently given)

Appendix 4 : The Measurement Scale.

	Unimportant		Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5
Really Unimportant		Important		Extremely Important

Or .....

I didn't think about it.....0

0r .....

This situation doesn't apply to me 0

Appendix 5 : The desistence questionnaire*

Key Words	Item Phrasing
cultural pride	cultural pride
employment	getting a job
family disapproval	the disapproval of your family
family support	having family support (e.g. from parents or a strong relationship with a woman...)
being labelled	being labelled a criminal
feeling tension	the tension felt when offending
financially unrewarding	not getting much money out of it
friends support	having the support of your friends
getting caught	the possibility of getting caught
getting ripped off	getting ripped off when selling stolen goods
hurting victim	the hurt inflicted on the victim
interfering with other goals	interfering with other goals that you have
long term considerations	crime not paying over the long term
losing family	losing things that are important to you (Family, possessions)
losing friends	the distancing of friends
loss of freedom	loss of freedom
managing debt	staying out of debt
not trusting others	not being able to trust other thieves or contacts
parental response	what your parents will do to you
police	being watched by the police
prison	prison life
punishment	the punishment that you will get from the justice system

* (Italics refers to verbal explanations frequently given)

Appendix 5: The desistence questionnaire continued.

Key Words	Item Phrasing
secrecy	having to keep what you do secret
separation from family	getting separated from your family
system support	having support from social workers/ probation officers
	Is there anything else that hasn't been mentioned that you think is important in influencing you to stop offending?.....*If nothing was supplied spontaneously they were asked "There are two factor I would like to ask you about that is not on this form. One is giving up drugs and the other is not feeling very good about it anyway. Do either of these apply to you?"*

Appendix 6: Affectometer2 (Kammann and Flett 1983)

Mnemonic Categories

1) Confluence	+	My life is on the right track.
	-	I wish I could change some parts of my life
2) Optimism	+	My future looks good.
	-	I feel as though the best years of my life are over.
3) Self Esteem	+	I like myself
	-	I feel there must be something wrong with me.
4) Self Efficacy	+	I can handle any problems that come up
	-	I feel like a failure
5) Social Support	+	I feel loved and trusted
	-	I seem to be left alone when I don't want to be
6) Social Interest	+	I feel close to people around me
	-	I have lost interest in other people and don't care about them.
7) Freedom	+	I feel I can do whatever I want to do
	-	My life seems stuck in a rut
8) Energy	+	I have energy to spare
	-	I can't be bothered doing anything
9) Cheerfulness	+	I smile and laugh a lot
	-	Nothing seems like very much fun anymore.
10) Thought Clarity	+	I think clearly and creatively
	-	My thoughts go around in useless circles

Form A-1

Feeling	Not at all	Occasio-nally	Some of the time	Often	All the time
1. My life is on the right track					
2. I seem to be left alone when I don't want to be					
3. I feel that I can do whatever I want to do					
4. I think clearly and creatively					
5. I feel like a failure					
6. Nothing feels like any fun anymore					
7. I like myself					
8. I can't be bothered doing anything					
9. I feel close to people around me					
10. I feel as though the best years of my life are over					

Form A-2

Feeling	Not at all	Occasio nally-	Some of the time	Often	All the time
1. My future looks good					
2.I have lost interest in other people and don't care about them					
3. I have energy to spare					
4. I smile and laugh alot					
5. I wish I could change some parts of my life					
6. My thoughts go around in useless circles					
7. I can handle any problems that come up					
8. My life seems stuck in a rut					
9. I feel loved and trusted					
10. I feel there must be something wrong with me					

Appendix 7: Offending History: Lambda Measures.

1) Shoplifting
2) Burglary
3) Car-theft
4) Threatened someone in order to obtain their money or property?
5) Used a knife or a gun in order to obtain money or property?
6) Stole something worth more than $20 that hasn't been counted before

Appendix 8: Cultural Identity Questionnaire*

1.Which **physical appearance** do you think you have: -

2. Your **values** and **beliefs** - are these:-
"Where do you think your values and beliefs come from"

3.What type of **lifestyle** do you usually live?

4. In our society, **labels** are often used to group people (e.g. the labels of "Pakeha", "Maori" or "Samoan").
What label would **you** use to describe yourself?

5. What label do you think **other people** use to describe you?

a) Maori
b) Mostly Maori, part Pakeha
c) Both Maori and Pakeha
d) Mostly Pakeha, partly Maori
e) Pakeha
f) Other (please specify)

* Adapted from Morgan 1991 (Italics note verbal explanations)

Appendix 9: Involvement Statistics

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Table 6.1: Items considered important for involvement by at least 50% of participants			
70%	temptation (n=99)	58%	chance of getting caught (n=82)
66%	ability (n=93)	58%	easy way (n=82)
65%	plans (n=92)	57%	financial gains (n=81)
65%	difficulty getting work (n=92)	57%	not having anything (n=81)
63%	just do it (Sing) (n=92)	57%	redistributing wealth (n=80)
62%	no other way (n=88)	56%	for a good time (n=79)
60%	buyer (n=85)	53%	social life (n=75)
60%	not considering consequences (n=85)	52%	courage (n=74)
60%	checking risk (n=85)	52%	commitment (n=74)
60%	trusting others (n=84)	52%	cash (n=74)
59%	things for self (n=83)	50%	financial choice (n=71)
58%	situation (n=82)		

Appendix 9

Table 6.2: Infrequent involvement items by didn't apply/didn't think about it and unimportant				
didn't apply/didn't think about it		Unimportant		Items
frequency	Percentage	frequency	percentage	
49	35%	64	45%	good stories
52	37%	53	38%	best way
56	40%	42	30%	not affecting victim
57	40%	40	28%	upset
58	41%	49	35%	achievement.
59	42%	42	30%	peer influence
76	54%	40	28%	appearances
78	55%	22	22%	victim deserving it
83	59%	22	16%	drink/drugs for courage
83	59%	25	18%	family needs

Appendix 9

Table 6.3: Responses to the open ended questions: Why and the most important reasons for involvement.			
Why? (n=141)		**Important reasons for involvement in property crime (n=140)**	
24 %	for drugs/alcohol (n=34)	28%	wanted money (n=39)
22%	needing money (n=31)	27 %	for drugs/ alcohol (n=38)
16%	being drunk or 'out of it' (n=23)	16%	stress (n=23)
16%	wanted money (n=22)	15%	money for bills (n=21)
11%	peer influence (n=15)	13%	drunk or 'out of it' (n=18)
6%	excitement (n=8)	13%	excitement (n=18)
6%	helping someone out (n=8)	13%	peer influence (n=18)
5%	just do it (n=7)	12%	temptation (n=17)
5%	material gains(n=7)	9%	material gains(n=13)
4%	temptation(n=6)	8%	lifestyle (n=12)

Appendix 9

Table 6.4: Initial Statistics from the Involvement questionnaire's factor analysis.

Factor	Eigenvalue	percentage of variance	cumulative percentage
1	9.49	19%	19.0%
2	3.21	6.4%	25.4%
3	2.97	5.9%	31.3%
4	2.25	4.5%	35.8%
5	2.03	4.1%	39.9%
6	1.85	3.7%	43.6%
7	1.60	3.2%	46.8%
8	1.46	2.9%	49.8%
9	1.38	2.8%	52.5%
10	1.33	2.7%	55.2%
11	1.26	2.5%	57.7%
12	1.18	2.4%	60.1%
13	1.15	2.3%	62.4%
14	1.08	2.2%	64.6%
15	1.04	2.1%	66.7%
16	1.01	2.0%	68.7%

Appendix 9

Table 6.5: Item loadings for the four involvement in crime factors.	
	Criminal Identity (α=.87)
.71	financial choice
.71	buyer
.70	financial gains
.64	best way
.61	for drugs/alcohol
.60	supplying
.51	easy way
.70	potential gains
.46	social life
.50	for woman
.48	no other way
.42	for a good time
.63	cash
.43	alternative to work
.38	*physical appearance*
-.30	*peer influence*
	Addictive component (α=.80)
.55	excitement
.59	just do it (plural)
.53	good stories
.51	difficulty stopping (sing.)
.53	difficulty stopping (pl.)
.49	temptation
.43	trusting others
.49	ability
.43	things for self
.45	beating the system
.42	appearances
.27	*courage*
.25	*achievement*

Appendix 9

	TABLE 6.5 CONTINUED.... **Situational response (α=.69)**
.53	situation
.64	unhappy
.48	upset
.42	for bills
.42	family needs
.58	unjust society
.52	not having anything
.41	redistributing wealth
.40	people lacking honesty
.37	*boredom*
.35	*difficulty getting work*
.35	*chance of getting caught*
.33	*commitment*
.24	*not considering consequences*
	Planning (α=.59)
.61	checking risk
.40	plans
.43	not using alcohol/drugs for courage
.62	not being drunk or 'out of it'
.55	not affecting victim
-.36	*just do it (sing.)*
.36	*victim deserved it*

*Italized items are those that do not load onto the factors satisfactorily (above or equal to .4).

Appendix 9

Table 6.6: Correlations between the involvement factors and excitement time.

Factors	Criminal choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
No excitement (n=73)	-.23**	-.44**	-.10	-.07
less than one hours excitement (n=26)	.10	.15	-.04	-.15
One to two hours excitement (n=14)	.02	.08	.13	.14
Two to five hours excitement (n=8)	.12	.21*	-.08	.06
More than fire hours excitement (n=20)	.14	.26**	.13	.11

**p<.01 *p<.05

Appendix 9

Table 6.7: Significant differences in importance of involvement items with recidivism.			
Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups Low Mean	High Mean
1) *Criminal Choice*			
Best way	F (4,124)=8.0, p<.01	R1,2&3*	R5
		R2	R4
Financial choice	F (4,124)=12.8, p<.01	R3	R5
		R 2	R4 &5
		R1	R3,4 &5
Alternative to work	F (4,124)=5.8, p<.01	R1,2&3	R5
Cash	F (4,124)=7.3, p<.01	R1	R4 &5
		R2	R3&5
Easy way	F (4,124)=3.0, p<.05	R1	R5
Supplying	F (4,124)=2.4, p<.05	n.s.d.**	
Potential gains	F (4,124)=2.4, p<.05	n.s.d.	
2) *Compulsion Items*			
Difficulty stopping (sing.)	F (4,124)=4.3, p<.01	R1	R4 &5
Difficulty stopping (pl.)	F (4,124)=4.6, p<.01	R1 &2	R5
Just do it (pl.)	F (4,124)=3.3, p<.01	R2	R3
3) *Others*			
Situation	F (4,124)=2.6, p<.05	n.s.d.	
Unjust society	F (4,124)=2.7, p<.05	R2	R5
Plans	F (4,124)=2.6, p<.05	R3	R4
Appearance	F (4,124)=2.6, p<.05	R2	R5
Achievement	F (4,124)=2.1, n.s.	R3	R5

* R1=(P)rosecutions=1); R2=1 to 4P; R3=5 to 8P; R4=9 to 12P; R5=P>12.

** no significant differences between groups

Appendix 9

Table 6.8: Offenders self-reporting more than 100 offences in the crime situations used to derive lambda				
age Crime Situation	14 to 17 years (n=21)	18 to 19 years (n=30)	20 to 24 years (n=58)	25 to 29 years (n=31)
burglary	4	6	4	7
car theft	3	5	1	1
shoplifting	3	2	4	2
robbery*	1	1	0	0
other**	1	4	7	6
total***	12	18	16	15

*robbery with or without a weapon
** something worth more than $20, not in other categories.
*** the total is not the number of offenders, some offenders may have reached 100 in more than one category

Appendix 9

Table 6.9: Significant differences in importance of involvement items with lambda.			
Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups Low Mean	High Mean
1) *Criminal Choice*			
financial choice	F (3,137)=13.3, p<.01	L1 L2	L 2,3 &4 L 4
for drugs/alcohol	F (3,137)=13.5, p<.01	L1 & 2	L 3 &4
best way	F (3,137)=8.3, p<.01	L1 & 2	L 3 &4
alternative to work	F (3,137)=9.8, p<.01	L1 L2	L 3 &4 L 4
cash	F (3,137)=6.7, p<.01	L1 L2	L 3 & 4 L4
for a good time	F (3,137)=6.2, p<.01	L1	L 3 & 4
supplying	F (3,137)=4.8, p<.01	L1	L 3 &4
easy way	F (3,137)=3.6, p<.01	L1	L 3 & 4
financial gains	F (3,137)=5.6, p<.01	L1	L 3 &4
potential gains	F (3,137)=4.7, p<.01	L1 & 2	L 4
buyer	F (3,137)=4.7, p<.01	L1 & 2	L4
social life	F (3,137)=3.1, p<.05	n.s.d.**	

* L1 = (λ <5); L 2= (4>λ <37);L 3= (36>λ <130) and λ not 99;
L4= (λ >130) and λ coded 99

**n.s.d. = no significant differences between groups.

Appendix 9

Table 6.9 Continued			
Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups Low Mean	High Mean
2)*Compulsion*			
Excitement	F (3,137)=5.3, p<.01	L1*	L4
Things for self	F (3,137)=6.0, p<.05	L1	L3 & 4
Beating the system	F (3,137)=4.2, p<.01	L1	L3 & 4
Good stories	F (3,137)=5.6, p<.01	L1	L 3 & 4
Ability	F (3,137)=5.4, p<.01	L1	L 3 & 4
Temptation	F (3,137)=4.5, p<.01	L1	L 2 & 4
Appearances	F (3,137)=7.1, p<.01	L1 & 2	L 4
Difficulty stopping (sing)	F (3,137)=5.9, p<.01	L1	L 4
Difficulty stopping (plural)	F (3,137)=11.8, p<.01	L1 L2	L 3 & 4 L 4
Just do it (pl)	F (3,137)=10.2, p<.01	L1 L2	L 3 & 4 L 4
3) *Other*			
Difficulty getting work	F (3,137)=5.4, p<.01	L1	L 2,3 & 4
Boredom	F (3,137)=5.7, p<.01	L1	L 2,3 &4
Appearance	F (3,137)=7.8, p<.01	L 1 & 2	L 3
Achievement	F (3,137)=3.2, p<.05	n.s.d.	
drink/drugs for courage	F (3,137)=4.0, p<.01	L 3 & 4	L 1

* L1 = (λ <5); L 2= (4>λ <37);L 3= (36>λ <130) and λ not 99;
L4= (λ >130) and λ coded 99

**n.s.d. = no significant differences between groups.

Appendix 9

Table 6.10: Correlations between the involvement items and the wellbeing measures.

Affectometer Measures	Involvement Items
Confluence	*Positive:* 1) chance of getting caught r (141)=.23, p<.01 2) peer influence r (141)=.20, p<.05 *Negative:* 1) best way r (141)=-.22, p<.01 2) cash r (141)=-.25, p<.01 3) buyer r (141)=-.24, p<.01 4) supplying r (141)=-.27, p<.01 5) difficult to get work r (141)=-.17, p<.05 6) for drugs/alcohol r (141)=-.16, n.s.
Optimism	*Positive:* 1) unhappy r (141)=.21, p<.05 2) peer influence r (141)=.22, p<.01 3) chance of getting caught r (141)=.31, p<.01 4) trusting others r (141)=.19, p<.05
Self Esteem	*Positive:* 1) no other way r (141)=.17, p<.05 2) easy way r (141)=.25, p<.01 3) beating the system r (141)=.32, p<.01 4) difficulty stopping (Sing) r (141)=.22, p<.01 5) difficulty stopping (plural)r (141)=.19, p<.05 6) ability r (141)=.18, p<.05 7) unhappy r (141)=.18, p<.05 8) not having anything r (141)=.17, p<.05
Self Efficacy	*Positive:* 1) for bills r (141)=.22, p<.01 *Negative:* 1) social life r (141)=.-.20, p<.05

Appendix 9

Table 6.10: Continued...	
Affectometer Measures	Involvement Items
Social Support	*Positive:* 1)situation r (141)=.19, p<.05 *Negative:* 1) for drugs/alcohol r (141)=-.29, p<.01 2) for a good time r (141)=-.20, p<.05
Social Interest	*Positive:* 1) commitment r (141)=.21, p<.01 2) unhappy r (141)=.24, p<.01 3) unjust society r (141)=.19, p<.05 4) appearance r (141)=.22, p<.05 5) beating the system r (141)=.17, p<.05 6) people lacking honesty r (141)=.20, p<.05 7) plans r (141)=.20, p<.05
Freedom	*Positive:* 1) difficulty stopping (pl.) r (141)=.17, p<.05 2) easiest way r (141)=.23, p<.01 3) appearances r (141)=.18, p<.05 4) cash r (141)=.24, p<.01 5) things for self r (141)=.18, p<.05
Energy	*Positive:* 1) financial gains r (141)=.18, p<.05 2) best way r (141)=.21, p<.05 3) supplying r (141)=.17, p<.05 4) cash r (141)=.24, p<.01 5) things for self r (141)=.24, p<.01 6) appearances r (141)=.29, p<.01 7) victim deserved it r (141)=.21, p<.05 *Negative:* 1) family needs r (141)=-.17, p<.05
Cheerfulness	*Positive:* 1) not affecting victim r (141)=.17, p<.05 2) people lacking honesty r (141)=.21, p<.01
Thought clarity	*Positive* 1) unhappy r (141)=.22, p<.05 *Negative:* 1) trusting others r (141)=-.21, p<.01

Appendix 10: Desistence Statistics

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Table 6.11: Initial Statistics for the Desistence questionnaire's factor analysis.

Factor	Eigenvalue	percentage of variance	cumulative percentage
1	6.19	23.8%	23.8%
2	2.13	8.2%	32.0%
3	1.45	5.6%	37.6%
4	1.43	5.5%	43.1%
5	1.26	4.8%	47.9%
6	1.18	4.5%	52.5%
7	1.12	4.3%	56.8%
8	1.00	3.9%	60.7%

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Table 6.12: Item loadings for the desistence factors.	
	Composite factor (α=.86)
.71	interfering with other goals
.70	punishment
.70	family disapproval
.64	family support
.60	losing family
.59	loss of freedom
.50	getting caught
.51	prison
.51	hurting victim
.52	separation from family
.52	long term considerations
.48	losing friends
.48	system support
.44	being labelled
.41	parental response
.40	friends support
.41	feeling tension
.38	*employment*
	Bonding and Coping(α=.76)
.60	losing family
.51	family support
.47	separation from family
.57	loss of freedom
.65	employment
.71	managing debt
.40	*friends support*
.38	*cultural pride*

Appendix 10

	TABLE 6.12 CONTINUED...
	Social disapproval (α=.75)
.67	family disapproval
.66	parental response
.61	hurting victim
.58	system support
.54	interfering with other goals
.52	losing friends
.44	prison life
.41	*feeling tension*
	Deterrence (α=.67)
.64	punishment
.64	being labelled
.60	getting caught
.53	long term considerations
	Crime Hassles (α=.62)
.72	police
.66	getting ripped off
.61	secrecy
.42	not trusting others
.51	financially unrewarding

*Italized items are those that do not load onto the factors satisfactorily (above or equal to .4) or did not correlate sufficiently with the factor (.3).

Appendix 10

Table 6.13: Correlations between the desistence items and the wellbeing measures.

Affectometer Measures	Involvement Items
Confluence	Positive: 1) long term considerations r (140)=.27, p<.01 2) loss of freedom r (140)=.24, p<.01 3) punishment r (140)=.24, p<.01 4) interfering with other goals r (140)=.23, p<.01
Optimism	Positive: 1) family support r (140)=.31, p<.01 2) friends support r (140)=.26, p<.01 3) long term considerations r (140)=.25, p<.01 4) police r (140)=.21, p<.05 5) financially unrewarding r (140)=.20, p<.05
Self Esteem	Positive: 1) system support r (140)=.23, p<.01 2) feeling tension r (140)=.22, p<.01 3) friends support r (140)=.17, p<.05
Self Efficacy	Positive: 1) employment r (140)=.26, p<.01 2) financially unrewarding r (140)=.22, p<.01 3) parental response r (140)=.17, p<.05
Social Support	Positive: 1) long term considerations r (140)=.28, p<.01 2) losing friends r (140)=.23, p<.01 3) family support r (140)=.21, p<.05 4) losing family r (140)=.20, p<.05 5) separation from family r (140)=.20, p<.05 6) family disapproval r (140)=.18, p<.05 7) loss of freedom r (140)=.17, p<.05
Social Interest	---

Appendix 10

Table 6.13:continued	
Affectometer Measures	Involvement Items
Freedom	Positive: 1) cultural pride r (140)=.26, p<.01 2) employment r (140)=.20, p<.05 Negative 1) punishment r (140)=-.21, p<.05
Energy	Negative 1) prison r (140)=-.20, p<.05 2) punishment r (140)=-.18, p<.05
Cheerfulness	Positive: 1) friends support r (140)=.21, p<.05
Thought clarity	Positive: 1) managing debt r (140)=.21, p<.05 2) not trusting others r (140)=.20, p<.05 3) financially unrewarding r (140)=.20, p<.05

Appendix 11: Adolescent Tables

Table 6.14: Correlations between the adolescent recidivism and lambda groups and the involvement factors.

Factors	Criminal choice	Compulsion	Situational Response	Planning
Less than 2 Prosecutions (n=26)	-.07	-.05	-.06	.12
More than 1 prosecution (n=26)	.01	.23**	.01	.00
λ <37 (n=25)	-.20*	-.12	-.05	.02
λ >36 (n=26)	.15	.31**	.03	.09

**p<.01 *p<.05

Appendix 11.

Table 6.15: Significant differences in importance of involvement items between the adolescent recidivism and lambda groups		
Item	Significance	More Important For
1) *Recidivism*		
difficulty stopping (sing.)	t(1,50)=3.3, p<.01	RO*
difficulty stopping (pl.)	t(1,50)=2.1, p<.05	RO
Alternative to work	t(1,50)=2.2, p<.05	RO
2) *Lambda Groups*		
financial choice	t(1,49)=3.0, p<.01	HL
for drugs/alcohol	t(1,49)=2.6, p<.01	HL
best way	t(1,49)=3.2, p<.05	HL
cash	t(1,49)=4.0, p<.01	HL
buyer	t(1,49)=2.0, p<.05	HL
financial gains	t(1,49)=2.2, p<.05	HL
ability	t(1,49)=2.2, p<.05	HL
appearances	t(1,49)=3.0, p<.01	HL
beating the system	t(1,49)=2.0, p<.05	HL
Difficulty stopping (sing.)	t(1,49)=2.9, p<.01	HL
Difficulty stopping (pl.)	t(1,49)=2.2, p<.05	HL
excitement	t(1,49)=2.3, p<.05	HL
Just do it (pl.)	t(1,49)=3.0, p<.01	HL
appearance	t(1,49)=3.2, p<.01	HL

* RO=repeat offender. HL=High lambda

Appendix 12: Ethnic Statistics

Table 6.16: Significant differences in importance of involvement items between race/recidivism groups.			
Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups	
		Low Mean	High Mean
best way	F (3,132)=2.9, p<.05	PLR*	PHR
cash	F(3,132)=6.7,p<.01	PLR	PHR, MHR
financial choice	F(3,132)=5.8,p<.01	PLR	PHR, MHR
alternative to work	F(3,132)=4.5,p<.01	PLR	PHR, MHR
difficulty stopping (sing)	F(3,132)=4.4,p<.01	PLR	PHR, MHR
difficulty stopping (pl.)	F(3,132)=4.4,p<.01	PLR	MLR, PHR
unjust society	F(3,132)=2.9,p<.05	MLR	MHR
people lacking honesty	F(3,132)=2.5,p<.05	n.s.d.**	

* MLR=Maori low recidivism, MHR=Maori high recidivism, PLR=Pakeha low recidivism, PHR=Pakeha high recidivism
** n.s.d.=no significant differences between groups.

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Table 6.17: Significant differences in importance of involvement items between race/lambda groups.			
Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups	
		Low Mean	High Mean
Criminal Choice			
for drugs/alcohol	F(3,132)=10.4,p<.01	PLL, MLL	PHL,MHL
best way	F(3,132)=7.5,p<.01	PLL MLL	PHL,MHL MHL
financial choice	F(3,132)=10.4,p<.01	PLL, MLL	PHL,MHL
cash	F(3,132)=8.6,p<.05	PLL MLL	PHL,MHL MHL
alternative to work	F(3,132)=8.7,p<.01	PLL, MLL	PHL, MHL
for a good time	F(3,132)=4.4,p<.01	PLL, MLL	PHL
potential gains	F(3,132)=5.3,p<.01	PLL	PHL
buyer	F(3,132)=3.8,p<.01	PLL	PHL
supplying	F(3,132)=4.0,p<.01	PLL	PHL
financial gains	F(3,132)=4.3,p<.01	PLL	PHL
no other way	F(3,132)=3.9,p<.01	PLL	MHL

Appendix 12

Table 6.17: continued

Item	Significance	Tukey test for differences between groups	
		Low Mean	High Mean
Compulsion			
appearances	F(3,132)=6.5,p<.01	MLL PLL	PHL,MHL MHL
difficulty stopping (sing.)	F(3,132)=10.4,p<.01	PLL	PHL,MHL
difficulty stopping (pl.)	F(3,132)=8.6,p<.01	PLL, MLL	PHL,MHL
things for self	F(3,132)=4.6,p<.01	MLL PLL	PHL,MHL MHL
just do it (pl)	F(3,132)=8.6,p<.05	PLL MLL	PHL,MHL MHL
good stories	F(3,132)=4.8,p<.01	PLL, MLL	MHL
trusting others	F(3,132)=2.6, p<.05	MLL	MHL
ability	F(3,132)=3.8, p<.01	PLL	MHL
excitement	F (3,132)=4.4, p<.01	PLL, MLL*	MHL
Other			
achievement	F(3,132)=4.6,p<.01	PLL	MHL
appearance	F(3,132)=4.8,p<.01	PLL	PHL

* MLL=Maori low lambda, MHR=Maori high lambda, PLR=Pakeha low lambda, PHR=Pakeha high lambda

** n.s.d.=no significant differences between groups.

Appendix 13: Involvement with Desistence Statistics

Table 6.18: Significant correlations between involvement factors and items on the desistence questionnaire.

Criminal Choice		**Compulsion**	
.30**	police	.24**	police
.22**	secrecy	.17*	parental response
-.19*	being labelled	-.17*	losing friends
-.18*	family disapproval		
Situational Response		**Planning**	
.28**	financially unrewarding	-.18*	employment
.24**	employment		
.25**	feeling tension		
.22**	family disapproval		
.19*	managing debt		

**p<.01 *p<.05

Appendix 13

Table 6.19: Significant correlations between desistence factors and involvement items.			
Crime Hassles			
.32**	social life	.24**	difficulty stopping (sing.)
.27**	financial choice	.23**	beating the system
.27**	buyer	.20*	ability
.23**	alternative to work	.19*	commitment
.21*	for women		
.19*	supplying	.18*	not having anything
.19*	financial gains		
.18*	best way	.22**	appearance
.17*	no other way	.21*	drink/drugs for courage
Bonding and Coping		**Social Disapproval**	
.30**	unhappy	.36**	unhappy
.22*	family needs	.23**	family needs
.21*	upset	.22*	upset
.17*	unjust society	.19*	peer influence
		.19*	difficulty stopping (sing.)
		.17*	courage
		-.22**	supplying
		-.21*	financial choice
Deterrence			
.23**	not considering consequences	-.19*	alternative to work
.21*	peer influence	-.19*	easy way
.20*	chance of getting caught	-.20*	best way
.20*	unhappy	-.20*	cash
		-.21*	buyer
		-.24**	financial choice
		-.25**	achievement

**p<.01 *p<.05